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Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

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ANARCHISM AND "THE LORD'S FARM."

RECORD OF A SOCIAL EXPERIMENT.

BY THEODORE SCHROEDER.

IN the old life of sin-in-the-flesh he had another name. Now he lives in the spiritual rebirth. When the divinity within him came to rule his life he was re-christened as Paul Blaudin Mnason. Some hailed him the "New Christ" and others reviled him as the Anti-christ. Scoffers called him "the Boss of the Angel-dancers." At least, he was the "spiritual" boss of the "Lord's Farm," in Bergen County, N. J. When I told him that I was going to write about him under the title of "Anarchism at 'the Lord's Farm,'" he almost lost his "spiritual" poise, in protest against being identified with anarchists. And yet, he lived the life of anarchism without professing or even knowing its doctrines. When the more conscious anarchists claimed him he hated them, probably because they professed the doctrine without living the life. And yet, for twenty years he, with others, worked out an experiment at living the life of the anarchist-communist. Now I intend to tell the story of that experiment and to point out some useful lessons to be learned therefrom.

When this latter-day Paul first acknowledged the supreme authority of the "divinity" within him, he felt always under a strong compulsion to bear his testimony for "truth and right." Wherever he went, he sought opportunity to uphold both. He went among those who advertised their liberality as well as those of conspicuous orthodoxy. Everywhere he met with more or less of violent hostility. The "liberals" denied him free speech because he was a "nut." The orthodox called the police or threw him out of their places of worship, because "they could not bear the clearer purer light" from this "son of God." Once after a peculiarly hard

treatment, this new apostle of "truth and right" made a solemn promise that if God ever permitted him to have a place of his own, that then and there liberty would prevail. Later on, by virtue of the "divinity within," the latter-day Paul cured a very sick maiden of an "incurable disease." Through this miracle the way was opened, "the Lord's Farm" was established, and there "Christian liberty" reigned supreme. At the Lord's Farm unconscious anarchists, or conscious Christian communists, established Utopia, a miniature edition of heaven upon earth. Here many of the despised of the world found spiritual and economic regeneration. Others found the Lord's Farm a way-station on the road to suicide, or to the insane asylum. The fences along the road were torn down, and the doors and windows were always left unlocked in order that all might have easy access to free grace and free board. Thus they helped even the neighbor's hired man to get a comfortable lodging after a Saturday night's debauch. It also helped doctrinaire anarchists to put their theories to the test of practice.

Theory of the Lord's Farmers.

In the Kingdom of Heaven there could be no private property, nor any privileges but the privilege of service. Paul refused a deed to the Lord's Farm, because it implied too much ownership. Even a mere formal lease from sister Blaudina was a bad compromise between the godly ideal and the human way of doing things. A lease was taken, however, but that did not give any one within the sacred precincts greater liberty or authority than was enjoyed by any of the rest. Blaudina was not the name her parents gave her. By this new name she symbolized the fact that she had been physically and spiritually reborn. The godless called her the "beautiful little angel-dancer" of the Lord's Farm.

No books of account were kept at the Lord's Farm. In the Kingdom of God no record of material things could be preserved. If the more precious jewels of spiritual salvation were forever free to all, then of course, the lesser things of the material world must be equally free. Upon this principle, rooted in universal love, the Lord's Farm was conducted.

Persecution and Publicity.

Such lofty pretense at living the life of Christian liberty offends no one so long as it is not translated into practice. But the prevailing pharisaism will never forgive the combination of practice with profession. To combine practice with profession is a constant

reproach to those who only pretend, and these are always resentful. So friction arose between the Lord's Farmers and their materially-minded, spiritually-pretentious neighbors. Reviling was followed by persecution. Psychologically it is true that those who have in their closet the most troublesome skeletons always have the strongest urge to throw the first stone at their less fallible but erring neighbors. Woodcliff Lake, N. J., may have been an exception. Anyway, mobs cut Paul's hair and pulled out his whiskers. This was followed by arrests for Sabbath-breaking and blasphemy; conspiracy to defraud and running a disorderly house; kidnapping and raping and almost everything else in the criminal code. Convictions were actually secured against Paul for the blasphemy of allowing himself to be adored as a Son of God. Practically all the other criminal charges were dismissed, or resulted in acquittal. The Lord's Farmers thought that if God's Law is to prevail human laws must be ignored and lawyers should not be employed in the defense of God's own. Turn the other cheek was the rule. Only spiritual victories were sought and in the godless tribunals of "justice" these could be best obtained by means of non-resistance. "Direct action" is the modern phrase, I believe. In some of these prosecutions the indictment called Paul by the name of Mason T. Huntsman. Most strenuously he repudiated this name. In fact he was just as anxious to disown the name, as were his relatives and namesakes to have him do so. Some of these reside on Fifth Avenue, facing Central Park in New York City.

Free newspaper advertising followed in abundance upon prosecution. Publicity brought all those whom the world calls "cranks," all those who have theories of superiority with which to explain their status as the world's misfits. The Jew and the Chinaman, the Christian Scientist and the Papist, the Methodist and New Thoughter, the Swami and Christian clergymen, spiritualists, theosophists, atheists, anarchists, and socialists; all these came, prayed or cursed, worshiped or persecuted, soothed or quarreled, according to varying understanding and temperaments. They came and went as they pleased. Some stayed for hours, some for days, and a few stayed for years. During eighteen years the Lord's Farm fed three thousand persons. Some were cleansed of body and some in soul. Many were restored in self-respect and social usefulness. All this was done without asking any questions or imposing any conditions. Here all was free as the saving grace of God. From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs, was the only rule that each would impose upon himself, as soon as he saw the light.

A Daniel from Boston.

Among those who came was Daniel Haines. Daniel came from Boston. An overdose of Boston culturine had unhinged Daniel's reason, if we may express it in unspiritual language. Daniel came in the role of him who has the right to sit in judgment and to try the faith of the elect. He surely and sorely tried the patience of the elect, if not their faith. Daniel challenged even the righteousness of Paul. The Holy Ghost in Daniel questioned the superior wisdom of the divinity in Paul. Daniel of unhinged reason, went and unhinged also the doors so that the worldly ones outside might hear the disputes within, which he provoked and which he hoped would discredit the original inmates of the Lord's Farm, to his own credit. Daniel shouted loud. Paul tried to hold his peace and his godly supremacy. The quieter Paul became, the madder Daniel grew. Soon Daniel grabbed Paul and put him three points down on the floor. With the help of the spirit Paul rolled him over. But Paul refused to use his physical advantage to administer a beating, and instead the physical advantage was coined into a spiritual victory. Daniel was released and asked what next he had to offer. That ended the row. In youth Paul had learned that nothing was so embarrassing to the obstreperous ones as not to oppose them.

But Daniel was controlled by a turbulent Bostonian spirit of superiority that must yet vaunt itself by subordinating Paul who seemed the natural leader. Again at dinner the disputatious spirit of Daniel came to the surface. When Daniel could not dominate Paul in matters of spiritual disputation, he could at least take it out on the furniture. So Daniel proceeded to exhibit his spiritual culture by picking up the dishes from which about fifteen people had been fed, and one by one he hurled them to destruction on the floor. The molasses pot and the gravy dish were included. No one interfered. Paul got up and followed him around the table. When Daniel grew weary of spirit or muscle, Paul advised him to finish his work. There were yet too many dishes unbroken. "Go on, Brother Daniel, finish your job if you feel like it, there are plenty more dishes where these came from." And Brother Daniel went merrily on dashing and jingling dishes into pieces, until there were no more dishes to jingle.

An Arrest.

Just when the last dish had gone to destruction, there came some strangers to the house. They had a warrant for Paul and

various John Does and Jane Does for conspiracy to defraud Blaudina's father of the farm. All present were arrested. The omnipotent representatives of law and order were amazed at the bushels of broken utensils that confronted them. These worldly men did not understand the things of the spirit and so assumed they had interrupted a riot. They gathered up a lot of fragments of dishes to use as evidence. These with broken and unbroken spirits were hustled off to jail. Blaudina's father had caused the arrest of the whole group including Blaudina's brother "Titus" and their mother. Nothing came of the conspiracy charge. It existed only in the boozy brain of the old man, stimulated by his necessities, his morbid suspicions and greedy relatives. After six months in jail all were dismissed as to the conspiracy charge.

But the evidence of disorderly conduct was absolutely conclusive. Such a sight as these officers beheld could be found only in a "disorderly house." Thus a new charge was made. Paul and Phoebe and all the newly accused ones except Blaudina's mother were found guilty. Paul and Phoebe were sentenced to State Prison. The others appear to have been turned loose without sentence or on suspended sentence. Yet they protested. They wanted to share all the physical discomfiture and spiritual triumph of Paul and Phoebe. As usual in such cases, the love of law and order probably was a mere convenient pretense to be used in the vain hope of lessening the influence of Paul and Phoebe, over Blaudina, her mother and brother, so as to save the property for other relatives. Daniel, probably the only real disturber of the peace, was also released. He had not a sufficiently alluring disposition to endanger possible future legatees. In such matters judges sometimes have a very human understanding of property values, greater than their love of equality and liberty for such as Blaudina, or Paul and Phoebe. The family boycotted Herman the Cobbler, who was Blaudina's father in the flesh. He wearied of the sole supremacy on the farm. Soon he begged forgiveness, and was taken back as a soul in need of help. At times nothing is so distressing as to have one's own way.

Daniel Takes a Horse.

On the return from prison all were again united in Christian love at the Lord's Farm. Daniel was known in the spiritual rebirth as "Silas the Pure." Even he was there and great spiritual joy prevailed among the elect. However, "Silas the Pure" remained disputatious and restless. One time he hitched up the best horse

to the best phaeton, and announced that he and Brother Samuel had decided to leave the Lord's Farm for good and ever. When asked if he intended to take the horse, he said, "Yes, everything is free here and I am going to exercise my freedom by taking the horse and phaeton." No one protested then. Down the road aways Daniel and Samuel stood up in the phaeton and waved their last farewell. The assembled residents of the Lord's Farm waved back a farewell with shouts of "Amen! Praise the Lord." Silas might gain a horse and phaeton but what profiteth that if thereby he lost his own soul? The spiritual victory would still be with the Lord's Farmers.

Only one person became excited about the loss of the horse and phaeton. Sister Elizabeth, a new-comer, protested vigorously. "Are you not going after the horse?" she demanded of Paul. "No! No!" said Paul. "If the Lord wants me to have that horse or another He will provide it. I will never go after that horse till I am led by the spirit." The Lord's people sold fruit at a neighboring village. A few days later word came from there that some farmer had taken in the horse and phaeton which was ambling driverless up the road. In due time both were returned to the Lord's Farm, and under the Lord's guidance, of course. "The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away, blessed be the name of the Lord."

Charles and Louis.

Charles Hammond the infidel came to the farm out of curiosity, only to see the "modern Christ." Curiosity became interest, and he remained to work with the Lord's own. Charles always remained an opponent of Christianity, good-naturedly cursing all theology and gods. But Charles liked the Christian freedom. Like the rest he allowed his hair and beard to grow and soon the blatant infidel became a reproduction of the idealized youthful physical Jesus. Charles had a practical streak in him and was the best worker that ever came to the farm. Communism must be proven a success, he thought.

Louis Anderson had been commanded by God to give up his small store and all other work, to preach the Gospel. But the Lord did not provide well. In his hour of need Louis also turned to the Lord's Farm. Here the Lord provided food but the Lord still prohibited him from working. When not eating or expounding the Scripture he slept. This lazyness riled the hard-working infidel. It was outrageously unjust that he as an infidel should help to support this lazy sky-pilot in idleness, even though he pretended to

be commanded by the voice of God. Charles took the matter up with Paul and demanded that this pious drone be ejected from the Lord's beehive. Paul was firm in his negation of such a course. If it was the voice of God to Louis, then Louis must obey. If Louis was moved to sleep all afternoon, that was a matter only between Louis and his God and not for the conscience of Charles to pass judgment upon. On the Lord's Farm complete freedom in God must prevail and Louis could not be put out. If Charles wished to spend his time sleeping he was equally free to do so. This sanctimonious non-resistance so irritated Charles that he struck Paul a hard blow in the face. Never ruffled, Paul quickly said: "Have you finished, Brother Charles? If not, don't stop. Strike on." But Charles was done and ashamed. Remorse was the reward of the assault. Paul had gained another spiritual victory over sin and selfishness. Viciousness brings its own penalties, as virtue brings its own reward: so mused Paul.

The Hoboes Came Also.

The Christian neighbors who constantly felt insulted by the life of these over-Christly people soon acted as if in an unconscious conspiracy to direct to the Lord's Farm all the "weary Willies" in need of food and shelter: none of these ever received a hand-out at the door. That would be making aristocratic distinctions, distasteful to the Lord. Without examining them as to vermin or morals all were given a seat at the common table. One "weary Willy" thought he had found a final haven of rest. He could not possibly get enough sleep before breakfast time, and wished to have a breakfast served to him in mid-forenoon. That also was a part of Christian liberty, but those who served also had a liberty to serve in their own way. One morning Paul took a tray loaded with a bounteous breakfast up to George's bed. "Good morning, George," said Paul. "I'm delighted to see that your eyes are open. I have taken the privilege of bringing you your breakfast. You know I like you to be comfortable and happy, and I want to save you the work of coming downstairs. Now, George, please remain in bed as long as nature will allow. We are here to wait upon you and make you happy if lying in bed can make you so. Now be happy, George." After that George was never known to remain in bed until the breakfast hour, and from that time on he did a fair share of the farm work.

At other times Paul would make a sly insinuation that if the Lord wanted certain work to be done he would provide four, six,

or eight hands to do it. This mere suggestion would produce the desired result while Paul was on the road selling fruit. Similar tactics were used on others. The lazy ones were commanded not to work so long as it was possible to be happy in idleness. Then they began to work. Not from books, but from the bitter experience of youth, Paul had learned some lessons of psychology. He knew how to play on the rebellious spirit. By commanding these rebellious children to be antisocial, they could be induced to be very social. The remedy for the abuses of freedom is more freedom. Thus Paul without commanding yet dominated all.

The Garden of Eden.

For a short time Mary Jane was also an important addition to the farm. She had met some of the Lord's Farm folks who had visited Scranton. There Mary Jane was a leader in the Christian Alliance. But soon this was abandoned for a trip to the Lord's Farm to find a new resting-place for the body and the spirit. Mary Jane, however, was still human and fleshly. The old Eve-spirit was still strong in her. Thus she was sometimes prompted to pursue Adam in the person of Paul, and according to the traditional manner of original Eve. But Paul had renounced all things of the flesh, and fled to a secluded den or spent his hours of sleep in the granary so that he might not serve as a temptation to Mary Jane. Of course, Paul had been so thoroughly reborn, and had so completely outgrown the limitations that hamper us mere humans, that nothing really tempted him. He withdrew for the sole sake of Mary Jane and for her soul. Perhaps in time Mary Jane would also become more spiritually minded, and then it would be no longer necessary to flee from her for her own good.

Soon, however, there came to the farm another spirit more like that of Mary Jane. Granville B. had been reborn, and in his imperious boldness there could be no sin or shame. Modesty is always but the shield of sin, the mask for self-reproach. The pure in heart can have neither. Furthermore Granville had so thoroughly subordinated the old Adam to the will of the divinity that reigned within him, that divinity which was his very self, that he could not sin. Whatever his perfect soul desired by the very fact of its being *his* desire became pure, no matter how sinful it might be in others or in the eyes of worldly humans. He had abolished all fleshly qualities that make for sin. He was a pure spirit, incapable of sins of the flesh, even though to unspiritual vision his conduct should seem to be fleshly.

Mary Jane and Granville soon discovered that they were of the same spirit. They were restored to the primitive purity of Adam and Eve before the Fall. The Lord's Farm was the place for reestablishing that Garden of Eden in all its primitive splendor and sinlessness. Here Mary Jane and Granville would set up the Kingdom of God on earth in which they would reign in the simple naturalness of their spiritual purity.

So Granville, being in a place of freedom from human restraint, wore the clothes of Paul and took Paul's seat at the head of the table. And Paul with his characteristic non-resistance proved his spiritual superiority by the meekness of his own submission. He bowed the head so as to conquer in the spirit. Granville and Mary Jane thought that now the time had arrived for the perfect ones to prove by their shamelessness that they were above sin. If the Kingdom of Heaven was ever to be established as in the original Garden of Eden, then the time was at hand for abolishing clothing and fig-leaves, the badges of sin and shame so conspicuously worn by the unregenerate. This was a place of spiritual freedom and to the spiritual all things are spiritual. It was not in the heart of Paul to restrain these courageous souls in the exercise of Adam's liberty. However, from an excessive delicacy of consideration for the weakness of the unregenerate souls of the outside world, Mary Jane and Granville reserved most of their exhibitionist tendencies for themselves, and for a few choice spirits within the sacred precincts of the Lord's Farmhouse. Granville soon grew tired and returned to Philadelphia to establish his own kingdom and to leave Paul free to resume the head of the table and of the household. Another spiritual victory had been gained by Paul through non-resistance. But the unregenerate insist that these two were not the only Adamites who took up their abode at the farm, and some "shocking" yarns are told about it.

Willson from England.

The fame of the Lord's Farm spread far and wide through persecution and the sensational newspapers. Thus came also an Englishman whom we will call Billy Willson. Brother Willson, too, was an imperious spirit, who recognized a large chunk of the infinite God to be within his own cosmos, and he proposed to act the part of omnipotence at the Lord's Farm. He came resolved in advance to dispute and to destroy all authority on the Lord's Farm except his own and to compel recognition of his own omniscient self as the sole ruler by divine right, first of the Lord's

Farm and then of the whole world. As if in proof of omnipotence he brought a son, a son that had been immaculately conceived from a virgin, at least so he said.

Somehow Paul failed to see the superior divinity in or of Willson, and so did not voluntarily abdicate. Thereupon Willson attempted to prove his own superiority by terrible tongue-lashings in which he used blasphemous expressions to denounce Paul as everything that was vile and execrable. On such occasions Paul would smile blandly and say: "That's fine, Brother Willson. But why can't you tell me something new about myself?" Thus, all the sting was taken out of Willson's reproaches, and he was made to feel his inferiority in the very effort to rise above it. He would go away, but after months would come back and repeat the experiment and experience. Sometimes these outbreaks were provoked by Willson's boasting of his miraculous cures. Always Paul had one just a little more wonderful and often the witnesses were present to corroborate. Paul quotes Jesus: "Agree with your adversary and he will flee."

The free publicity given to the communistic aspect of the Lord's Farm served as a lure for irreligious socialists and anarchist-doctrinaires. These came with their rule of thumb to prove to Paul that he was not consistent with Marx, Bakunin, or Tucker, or some one else. Paul knew nothing of these strange unscriptural doctrines, and he cared less. He was concerned only with living the divine life. He would tell these critics that they were only intellectual garbage cans peddling the dead and decaying material of other minds; fooling themselves by thinking that this rotten doctrine-stuff could upset the ways and work of God, or that God could or would descend to the ways of men. Others he would advise to hang a piece of crape on their nose in memory of their dead brains. His was a life, not a theory, but a life, moving, living, and having its being as the immanent God. However, Paul's most eloquent and spiritual sermon was his material performance. That he gave all credit to the inner spiritual voice did not keep some of these atheistic radicals from joining the Lord's Farm colony to rehabilitate themselves, physically and economically. Perhaps they even absorbed something else that Paul would call spirituality. At least, he hoped that they did absorb a little spirituality.

Holy Shouters Came Also.

The fame of the Lord's Farm had gone to the Far West and supplied a new ambition to a couple of Holy Rollers. These started

a wearying journey to New York City. Here they were joined by a few kindred spirits. Together these five traveled on foot to the Lord's Farm. Now spiritual joy was unbounded, and in this place of liberty its vocal expression was unrestrained. The holy shouters had at last been led by the Lord to a land of plenty, and they exhibited their gratitude to God by constantly shouting and singing his praises. Only physical exhaustion could restrain either the volume or the duration of their pious vociferations. And yet none of the godly ones would interfere with the mysterious divine influence that could produce such joy. Here the joys of conscience must remain unimpeded.

But all were not godly. Among the inmates at the farm was a woman with a past who still hoped for a future. She had come to be cured of locomotor-ataxia. She had only been there a short time and had not yet been able to cast out enough of the old evil spirit to make the disease depart. For this the Holy Shouters reproached her and kept her awake day and night by their audible manifestations of the spirit of God. The sick and weary Alice Page, the unconverted Alice Page, had not the infinite patience of an indwelling God. Therefore she was annoyed by the unnecessary noises. Therefore, too, she was reproached by the hyper-holy shouting jumpers. It served her right to be kept awake all night if she would remain sick simply for obstinacy; simply because she would not give herself wholly to God. There was a bit of romance behind the presence of Alice Page at the Lord's Farm. In the old world of sin and Satan, Alice and he whom the world now knows as Paul had been very intimate friends, and now Paul Blaudin Mnason found her in need of bodily and spiritual regeneration. As she had ministered to him in the world of sin, so now he would minister to her in the world of spiritual love. But Alice was sorely grieved by these impertinent pious jumpers.

In this Alice Page was not alone. The unspiritual neighbors also objected to having their slumbers disturbed even by those who thought they were singing and shouting praises to God. One of the unregenerate ones was a lawyer named Randolph Perkins. His patience having come to an end he went to the farm and demanded peace and quiet. Paul told him that was a place of gospel liberty and himself without authority to interfere even with noisy outpourings of conscientious worshipers. Then Paul was long and vainly importuned to give his consent to interference with liberty on the Lord's Farm. Finally he said, "Here all are free, you are free to do as you please, even as they are free." Here was a new

interpretation of the rule that the abuses of liberty are to be remedied by more liberty.

Perkins now appealed to Alice Page, the poor, sick, unregenerate Alice Page. Was she, too, suffering from loss of sleep? Did she want the turbulent ones removed? She did. Poor worldly-minded soul! That was enough authority for Perkins. He ejected them, and the toe of his shoe in speedy upward motion helped to lighten the weight and assist the flight. Paul looked sympathetically at Alice and offered no interference. On the Lord's Farm all had their liberty, even Perkins. Mary Israel, one of the ejects, sent back the Lord's damnation, but the farm was free.

The Fall.

Just once the Boss Lord's Farmer fell from his pedestal of spiritual exaltation. Just once the old repressed Adam asserted itself and Paul forgot his non-resistant attitude. This caused his undoing. Among the children of the colony was a boy, the legally adopted son of Titus. Titus liked to compel others to work, including this boy. Sometimes he chastised him for laziness. This stirred the old Adam in Paul. Once when Titus struck the boy, the old suppressed "evil temper" in Paul compelled him to use a club on Titus. Blandina had died. Titus, her brother, was now the legal owner of the farm. Paul had always been a mere lessee. This quarrel between Paul and Titus gave the relatives of the latter a leverage to separate these two and so oust Paul from the farm. That end was thus accomplished. The old passions which had only been submerged and not outgrown, thus reasserted themselves, and terminated the colony of the Lord's Farmers.

In the fuller record of nearly twenty years, during which the Lord's Farm existed, there is a valuable unplanned social experiment. I wish to add some general comment to express and to emphasize the lesson that I see in it.

An Interpretation.

In Paul B. Mnason we see a man living the anarchist ideal. The Lord's Farmers followed his example but with a lesser degree of devotion and lesser consistency with the ideal. None of these religionists had any conscious anarchic theories. Neither had they any theories of social evolution or of the behavior of human energy operating in social relations. Their conduct was primitive and instinctive; that is, an impulsive effort to usher in the millennium This impulsive reaction, precisely because it was emotional and

blind, found a formulation in terms of the "divine life," the self-imposed "law of love."

At another stage of development, where there is greater consciousness of personal desires and of social relations, and where the other aspect of an emotional conflict is being acted upon, the same impulse to play the role of omnipotence finds expression in moral codes, to be (for our benefit) imposed on others, by legalized or unlegalized violence. This is the state of mental development found among the short-time accessions to the colony and among the neighbors of the Lord's Farm and perhaps of most of society in general. The level of their desires and intelligence is evidenced by the efforts to exploit the more devoted Lord's Farmers from within the group. From their neighbors this same primitive state is shown by the many physical punishments visited upon the pious communists by lawless mobs and by those more orderly and lawful processes expressive of equally great ignorance and emotional conflict.

There is another level of development, with a much larger understanding of the relations and behavior among things, of which I will speak later. An experiment at living the anarchist ideal among a people who have reached that other stage of development remains yet to be tried. Perhaps this will become a reality in some future century when we have had more democracy in education and more education for democratization, as distinguished from an unenlightened emotional approval of mere political forms or of a static concept of democracy.

The head of the Lord's Farm worked for others and suffered from those whom he wished to help. He suffered economically and physically and found his compensations in the feeling that he was living the "divine life" far above the level of the unregenerate crowd. He *felt* himself the superior because he was living the life of love, and thus ushering in the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven, the reign of love upon the earth. His compensation, like his superiority, was but fantasmal, largely unrelated to objective realities. His suffering was very real, because in his feelings and ideals he was too thoroughly dissociated from his environment to insure a comfortable adjustment.

He suffered much in his intercourse with general society in so far as his understanding of the relations and behavior of the human animal was not above the level of the "unregenerate barbarians" by whom he was surrounded. He succeeded in dealing efficiently with individuals in so far as his intuitive insight into

human nature was more penetrating than theirs. He held no conscious theories as to either. He achieved a partial triumph in overcoming most of the violent opposition of hostile neighbors, by his heroic though blind emotional devotion to his self-appointed task of spending his life in labors of love.

More Mature Service.

There is another kind of "self-sacrificing" labor of "love" that isn't self-sacrificing nor a labor of love at all, except when misjudged by conventional standards. Those who are living this unconventional life do not really sacrifice nor love, according to the conventional meaning of these words. They simply give intelligent cooperation toward the democratization of the human desires, as the peaceful means to the ultimate democratization of everything else. Those engaged therein avoid the pains suffered by Paul Blaudin Mnason, because they do not invite nor challenge martyrdom, or encourage exploitation, either of themselves or of others. Being more conscious of the behavior of human animals in social relations, such persons seek to educate the physically mature children so as to minimize that infantile desire for dependence upon society, as formerly they depended upon the mother or the nursing bottle. So they promote the elimination of one factor of the impulse to exploitation. Likewise, they seek to educate the "educated" toward a stage above that of the emotional conflict, which on its submerged side is simply the fear-psychology of the infant. In the conscious effort, at compensatory over-preparation against an empty nursing bottle or a "dry" mother, we see the psychology of the millionaire and generally of the woefully efficient exploiters. To overcome their own infantile fears of famine they must reassure themselves of unending plenty by the process of unnecessary accumulation, and the indulgence in ostentatious waste. If their subconscious fears are great enough the protective desire will be morbidly calloused to the suffering of all who stand in the way. Thus came in all ages the more brutal efforts at the suppression of every emancipating movement for or from the exploited classes. So also have come the past persecutions of almost every efficient agitator for the further democratization of labor, of education, and of welfare. Thus, from society's infantile fears and the compensatory infantile urge toward omnipotence, which was controlling its dominant members, it has been inevitable that every important step toward more democracy could only be achieved in bloody strife. Even after the bloodiest of wars all of us are not yet prepared to

yield peaceably our personal or national aristocratic advantage, in conscious willing readjustment to the natural processes that make for the democratization of welfare.

The Lord's Farmers sought to democratize welfare on the instinctive level of their own emotional conflicts. So far as lay in their power they attempted to democratize physical welfare. Yet in their characters they remained essentially aristocrats, playing the high and mighty role of philanthropists, who intellectualized their aristocratic feeling of superiority by the claim of being spiritually regenerated humans, having thus become the children of God. The grown-up children who constitute the bulk of our present society resented this challenge to their vanity and found abundant plausible "reasons" for avenging the insult to their own childish conceits. The Lord's Farmers tried to prove their superiority by philanthropic endeavor. The unregenerated society all around them proved their contrary claim of "moral" and "spiritual" superiority by means of physical violence.

This opposition of force and rage, of petty imposition and prison bars only symbolized in miniature the psychology of all the wars for achieving aristocratic eminence or slave-emancipation. Always the effort has been made of resisting and seeking emancipation through organized force, legalized brutality, and political forms. Never yet have we even seriously thought of democracy in education, or of education for democratization. In this matter the world war just over can be seen as but the most destructive consequence of a conflict between groups, largely yet unconsciously dominated by a lust for national aristocratic distinction and its satisfying consciousness of power. By physical combat others are proven "inferior." Then because "inferior" the conqueror is "morally" justified in exploiting them in exchange for some "culture" or other. There, as with the Lord's Farmers, moral sentimentalism, exaggeration, falsehood, and force are and were the instruments to attain a dominance. Most of this was, and is continually being done on the level of old archaic aristocratic desires and methods. No matter how they formulated their objects, the unexpressed and usually unavowed quality of it was essentially that of primitive aristocracy, even when its victims are least conscious thereof.

A Dream of the Future.

Let us try to imagine the kind of a society which might come into being through actual democracy in education, and education for actual and continuous democratization of education, of labor.

and of welfare. That would involve the outgrowing of all desire to get the consciousness of power through physical force, economic might, or ostentatious waste; or by a control over the life and death of others, either by means of war or by the legalized power to starve those who decline to do our will, or to submit to our exploitation, on our own terms. Then it would be such facts of life by which we would measure democracy, and not by the theoretic democracy of political forms through which an actual aristocratic privilege may be maintained. So humanity may be developed to a desire to serve, somewhat like unto that of the "Boss of the Angel-dancers" at the Lord's Farm. But still it would be unlike that, because based on a larger understanding of the relations and behavior among things and humans, and not conditioned on the conflicts of unsolved emotional problems.

By such highly developed persons, service would also be the dominant impulse of life. But it would be service on a basis of democratized labor, not as philanthropists to beggars. Service being rendered on a more democratic basis, if there should be any submission to being exploited by the unfortunate, it would not be accompanied by any feeling of the spiritual superiority of the philanthropist, or the feeling of inferiority of the beneficiary. It would be conditioned by so much of conscious desire for the democratization of welfare as to preclude the slightest exaltation or humiliation. There would be no need to develop democratic independence of feeling. The ultimate goal of democracy must include the democratization of all essentials of efficient living,—education, labor, and welfare. Thus only can we insure the voluntary assumption of democratic responsibility which the psychologically mature ones impose upon themselves, and which the mentally childlike who are vested with power, impose upon others. The service must not be personal nor personally reciprocal, but cooperative in the promotion of the general welfare, so general that the individual beneficiary is never recognized as its beneficiary. This can only be achieved through obsessing, yet understanding devotion to the promotion of all aspects of democratization.

The Lord's Farmers suffered because the fortunate classes acknowledge no responsibility toward the mutuality of service and of protection, for the benefit of those who were in fact promoting the democratization of welfare. When, to a distressing degree, the unfortunate classes are conspicuously denied the substance of democratic welfare, and education, they are equally incapable of making an intelligent acknowlegment of the responsibility which is sup-

posedly imposed by the maintenance of democratic forms. Therefore, many of these could not "live the life" even when professing it. In the name of liberty, they too, must exploit or rob the philanthropic unconscious anarchists at the Lord's Farm. The middle class threw most of the bricks, and they hurt much. The middle class is always too near to aristocratic grandeur. Therefore, it cannot accept the resignation of despair, nor be content with having its aristocratic ambitions only one fourth satisfied. So it lives in a world of emotional conflicts. On the one hand are delusions of aristocratic grandeur, the intensified fantasies of wish-fulfilling hopes. On the other side is a half-conscious anxiety arising in part from the imminent danger of being compelled to disillusionment and to economic disaster, again involving the infantile fear-psychology. So it is that the middle class, individually dominated by conflicting emotions, will in a crisis be divided against itself. Through this lack of coherence or class-consciousness, the middle class tends to become the storm-center in all conflicts for democratization. After all, the Lord's Farmers quite unconsciously were aristocratically-minded middle-class reformers, or rather philanthropists. Just as the Lord's Farmers were ultimately defeated and crushed out as a social factor, so the middle class of Russia is now equally in danger of extinction as a class, if not as individuals. The aristocrats can largely flee from proletarian dominance, but not so their middle-class unconscious imitators. These must fight it out for their measure of the aristocratic ideal, or they must themselves become wood-cutters and water-carriers. Such are the forces that blindly make for the democratization of education, of labor, and of welfare.

Methods with Social Problems.

The Czar's Russian bureaucracy sought to prevent revolution and democratization by physical force. A Bolshevist revolution is the result. The bureaucrats were too ignorant of the psychology of repression as it works in the repressed. German Junkers sought to prevent democratization and wars by developing and using a physical force so superior as to preclude war by making hopeless all the opposition to Teuton prowess. The world war, the German defeat, and the German revolution were the result. The Junkers, too, were ignorant of the psychology of repression, as that was working at home and abroad. In their equally blind and instinctive unconscious way, the Lord's Farmers thought to force democratization of welfare upon an unprepared world, one not yet men-

tally attuned to such a degree of democracy. Their desires were too far ahead of their time, and as in the case of European aristocrats their understanding of human behavior was very inadequate. Because of this, they were excessively exploited and martyrized, without making any lasting contribution to the triumph of their dominant desires, that is, of democracy, of liberty, or of their concept of religion.

Amid an outward false show of excessive independence they were enslaved by an intense conflict between aristocratic desires and the slave-virtue of excessive humility. In consequence of these conflicts, they suffered great martyrdom at the hands of their equally primitive and more antisocial neighbors. From this little experiment and the similar but larger one now going on in Russia, we may perhaps be permitted to infer that it is as fatal to force democratization upon the feudal-minded masses of the middle-classes as it is futile to use violence against the proletariat, as a means to retard the natural processes of democratization.

The Remedy.

One other method remains to be tried. Perhaps an orderly and willing submission to the natural law of democratization is the best means to universal peace. When we have sufficient understanding of the relations and behavior of humans, maybe we will begin with a retrospective study of our evolution in democratization. If so, we may conclude that the trend of that evolution is toward the ever more complete democratization of education, of labor, and of welfare. When we see that, and combine with that an intelligent willingness to adjust to this natural law, we will consciously accelerate such democratization, as fast as the people's desires and mental processes can be attuned thereto. Then we will achieve freedom from revolutions by violence, through restraining our aristocratic and autocratic tendency to use either organized or legalized violence to retard or promote democratization.

Thus, perhaps, war can be made impossible by being first made unnecessary, and so universally discredited. Even a class war is useless if we are as a whole unafraid of more democracy and intelligent enough to make that mutually understood all around. The remedy for the evils of democracy is more intelligent and more complete democracy; that is, more intelligent adjustment to the natural processes of the democratization of labor, of education, and of welfare. The use of violence to retard further democratization has made violent revolutions the *only* efficient means to attain

democratic progress. When we democratize education and freedom of speech and press, and so become unafraid of the democratization of labor and welfare, no sane man can be persuaded that revolution by violence can serve him any purpose.

THE COMING AGE.

BY ALEXANDER DEL MAR.

THREE or four thousand years ago the prevailing religion of the world was the worship of the sun, moon, and stars, as personified by Sol, Luna, Saturn, Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, Mars, all of which heavenly bodies were believed to circulate about the earth, as the center of the entire system; while their personifications governed the affairs of man.

This geocentric religion received an admonitory shock when the opening of Phœnician commerce with the Orient, about the fifteenth century B. C., led to a vague suggestion of the heliocentric theory; and to a second and more forcible shock when the Indian conquests of Darius and the voyage of Scylax brought to the West further proofs against the prevailing cosmogonal belief. These evidences, when echoed more or less publicly by Pythagoras, Thales, Anaximander, and Œnopides, though suppressed by the temples and, in the case of Pythagoras, followed by the assassination of the philosopher, were nevertheless not extinguished.

Between the Indian expeditions of Darius and Alexander there were not a few philosophers who ventured to question the geocentric theory, upon which the religions of Greece were founded. Among them were Philolaus, Plato, Archytas, Heraclides of Pontus, Nicetas, and Aristarchus. But the information that Alexander acquired and Megasthenes brought from India was overwhelming, and the disquisitions of Aristotle, Dicæarchus, Seleucus, Timæus of Locris, Archimedes, and numerous other philosophers, though more or less cautiously disseminated, proved sufficient to effectually destroy the bulwarks of an erroneous astronomy and the fantastic creeds which grew out of or were sustained by it.

The immediate cause of their fall was, however, not due to scientific revolution, but to the degrading worship of Alexander, the Ptolemies, the Seleucidæ, and Demetrius Poliorcetes. It was revolt from this lowest form of anthropomorphism which swept

away all that remained of the ancient Greek schools and opened the way to the conquest of the heliocentric theory.

No enlarged survey of religious evolution during the past three thousand years will fail to afford similar lessons; the ever-increasing ground-swell of scientific advance and the top-wave of some immediate cause, something that aroused popular interest in public affairs after science or discovery had furnished the basis of progress.

The conquest of Europe, Asia Minor, and Northern Africa by Pompey, Cæsar and Augustus, brought to one focus of comparison the astronomical and geographical information of the principal civilized regions of the earth and resulted in that Augustan age of learning which afforded a point of departure for all scientific knowledge in the West. Later on, it was the disgust occasioned, not so much by the worship of Augustus, as of that of his imperial successors, which furnished the impetus for Christianity. It was the deadening influence of the conflict of the political and religious systems that followed, which is responsible for the Dark Ages.

As usual, the first heralds of returning light came from the East—*ex oriente lux*. In A. D. 530, Aryabhatta, a Hindu astronomer, revived and taught the heliocentric theory, and in one magnificent essay brushed aside the entire mass of false science and idiotic fables which were based upon the astrology of the Hindu temples. The knowledge of Aryabhatta's essay and of the observations upon which it was founded, was brought into Europe by the Arabians in the ninth century, the same in which the Norsemen coasted the continent of America. In A. D. 1020 Alberuni, an Arabian astronomer, in a work which became widely known in Europe, taught the heliocentric theory and accompanied it with a mass of scientific observations sufficient to afford food for cogitation to several generations of doubters. During six or seven centuries of darkness the Arabians alone held aloft the torch of science; and when it shone in Spain it lit a new and memorable light in the mind of a certain Galician navigator.

There is little risk in assigning the Protestant Reformation to the voyages of "Columbus." They smashed to pieces at once and forever the theory of a flat earth and the thousand and one delusions based upon it, in which the schools had previously indulged. They undermined the authority of the "fathers," of the saints, and of their pretended miracles. Yet the immediate cause of the Reformation was not the proofs of sphericity (for it was believed by most people that "Columbus" had landed upon the coast of India), nor the aberration of the compass, nor the art of high-sea navigation.

both of which he discovered, nor any other scientific knowledge connected with his memorable voyages; but the corruptions of Rome. Those are what Luther preached, because he knew that his hearers would understand him, while they would fail to grasp the infinitely more important consequences of the voyages to America. Yet without that achievement, Luther in the course of a few years would have been utterly forgotten, and Rome would have continued its reprehensible career unchecked.

Observe how many important discoveries were suddenly given to the world shortly after "Columbus" returned to Spain and related his marvelous story. Copernicus rediscovered the heliocentric theory, 1507; Moore published his Utopia, 1516; Magellan's ship circumnavigated the earth, 1522; the apogee of Melanchthon, 1540, typifies the revival of learning and rise of literature in Europe; felted paper, the father of printing, was first made in western Europe, about 1400-1450; books and newspapers appeared shortly afterward; postal systems were established in Austria, Spain, England, France, and Italy, 1496-1524; vast quantities of gold and silver coins were minted by machinery in Spain, Mexico, and Peru, thus by affording it a common denominator, greatly stimulating trade in Europe, 1500-1560; the steam-engine and steamboat were invented and worked by Blasco de Garay of Barcelona, 1543; portable clocks or watches, 1450-1550; wind- and water-driven flour and saw mills; spinning-wheels, divingbells, pistols, and breech-loading cannon; all these and many other discoveries, inventions, and improvements sprang from the fertile mind of man within fifty or sixty years from the moment that the discovery of "Columbus" released it from the thraldom of the schools.

We are now in the midst of a similar halcyon age. Steam, electricity, and chemistry offer to man renewed powers over nature. The telegraph, telephone, flying-machine, radiography, astronomical observations, and a multitude of other discoveries and inventions again admonish him that a new age has dawned, that new rivals have commenced the struggle for supremacy, and that if he would take part in it, he must cast away all impediments and gird his loins for the contest.

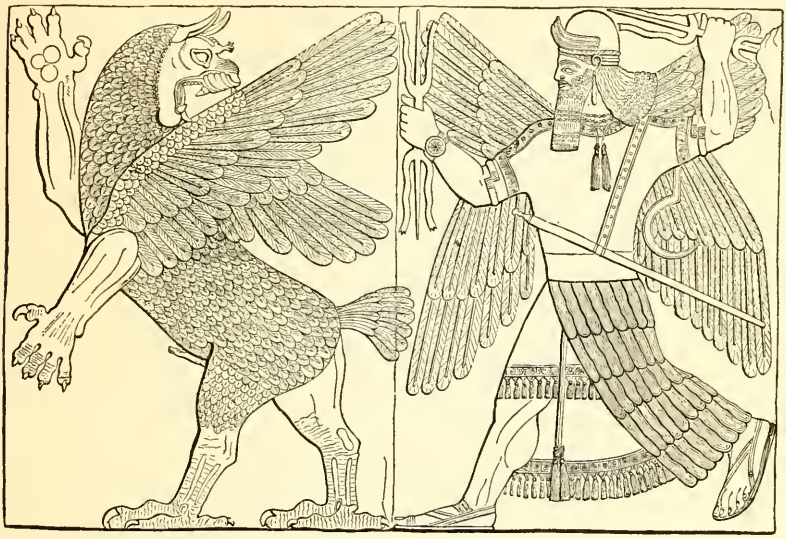
THE COSMIC MADNESS.

BY LAWRENCE PARMLY BROWN.

ONE of the commonest concepts of mythology is that of the fury of the storm as a manifestation of the wrath of a cosmic or celestial deity; and as the storm-god is often a war-god, we find in the raging storm the primary suggestion for many mythic battles between the forces of light (or righteousness) and those of darkness (or evil)—the latter forces being represented by the dark clouds and howling winds, with the thunderstorm supplying lightning weapons, etc. The frequent occurrence of such cosmic battles during the stormy season naturally suggested the celestial wars found in the mythologies of many peoples, including the Hindus, Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Greeks, Persians, and Jews (as in Rev. xii).

In a variant view the rage of the storm is attributed to (temporary) madness in the cosmic or celestial figure. In the Assyrio-Babylonian cosmology, the female monster Tiamat represents the primordial chaos; and in the great cosmic battle at the time of the Creation, she is described as having lost her reason when she came shrieking to the conflict in which she was defeated and slain by the solar Bel-Marduk ("Seven Tablets of Creation," Tablet IV, lines 87-99; in Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, etc.). It is said of the soli-cosmic Osiris that he took the form of a monkey (probably as a symbol of a storm-cloud) and afterward that of a crazy man (Harris Magic Papyrus, in *Records of the Past*, X, pp. 152-153). The solar Herakles, after his battle with the Minyans, was afflicted with raging madness by Hera (an earth figure), so he killed his own children by Megara and two of the children of his brother Iphicles (a wind figure); but he was finally purified and cured by Thestius (according to Apollodorus, II, 4, 12—variant accounts in the *Hercules Furens* of Euripides; Pausanias, IX, 11, 1; Hyginus, *Fab.*, 32, etc.). The solar Orestes was seized with madness after having slain his mother (for the earth) and his stepfather (for the summer), in revenge for their slaying of his own father (for the winter); and he was pursued over the earth by the avenging Erinnyes (= the Angry), finally being restored by Apollo (another solar figure — Æschylus, *Eumenides*, etc.). The solar Œdipus, toward the close of his horrible career, became mad and put out his own eyes (Sophocles, *Oed. Tyr.*, etc.). Ajax the Great is a furious

warrior in the Iliad; and in a post-Homeric story he becomes mad through chagrin at being defeated by Odysseus and at night attacks a flock of sheep (for clouds). But he recovers his sanity in the morning; sees the havoc he has wrought and slays himself (Pindar, *Nem.*, VII, 36; Soph., *Aj.*, 42, 277, 852, etc.). The lunar Io, loved by the celestial Zeus, was metamorphosed by him into a white heifer, with a view to protecting her from the jealousy of Hera; but as the goddess was not deceived she set Argos Panoptes (= "all-seeing" night) to guard Io. Then Argos was slain by Zeus, and Hera sent a gadfly, which drove Io in madness over the whole earth, giving her no rest till she reached the banks of the Nile, where she gave



MARDUK FIGHTING TIAMAT WITH THUNDERBOLTS.
(From Carus, *Story of Samson*, p. 98.)

birth to Epaphus (Apollod., III, 1, 2; Hygin., *Fab.*, 145, etc.). Io was identified with Isis, and Epaphus is the bull Apis (Herod., II, 41; III, 28).

In the later Greek mythos, Hera inflicted madness upon Dionysus, and as a madman he wandered over many lands, accompanied by a host of riotous women and satyrs—his expedition to India occupying fifty-two years (for the weeks of the year), according to some (Diod., III, 63; IV, 3). He was not only mad himself, but inspired religious frenzy in his worshipers. He is called Lyssodes and Mainoles, both words signifying "the Raging-mad" (Eurip., *Bacch.*, 980, etc.): and Lyssa is a female personification of mad-

ness in Euripides (*Herc. Fur.*, 823.—The word λύσσα, applied only to martial rage in the Iliad, finally came to signify "raging madness," as in men and dogs, being also used for the Bacchantic frenzy, as is μανία). The earth-goddess Hera inflicted madness upon Athamas and Ino (probably for the heaven and the moon) because they had reared the solar Dionysus (Eurip., *Med.*, 1289; etc.). When Lycurgus had made prisoners of the followers of Dionysus, the former became raging mad and killed his son or cut off his own legs before he recovered (the accounts differ—Serv. *ad Aen.*, III, 14, etc.). During a Dionysiac festival Agave became mad and tore her son Pentheus to pieces (probably for the waning moon), supposing him to be a wild beast (Apollod., III, 5, 2; Ovid, *Met.*, III, 725). When the Argives refused to acknowledge Dionysus as a god, he made their women mad, so they killed their infants and devoured their flesh (Apollod., *loc. cit.*). Among these women were

MARDUK SLAYING TIAMAT.

(From King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, p. 102.)

the three daughters of Prœtus, who were pursued by Melampus with a band of shouting youths and finally cured through purification—either in the well Anigrus (Apollod., II, 2, 2; Ovid, *Met.*, XV, 322) or in a temple of Artemis (the moon), who was therefore called Hemerasia = Soother (*Pausan.*, VIII, 18, 3). Melampus was held to be the first physician and the first prophet, who brought the worship of Dionysus from Egypt to Greece (Apollod., *loc. cit.*); but the solar Dionysus was himself invoked against raging diseases, as a savior god (Soph., *Oed. Tyr.*, 210; Lycoph., *Cassand.*, 206).

Dionysus (Babylonio-Assyrian Dayan-nisi = Judge-of-men) was in one view a solar god of wine and "a drunken god" whom the sober Lycurgus would not tolerate in his kingdom (*Il.*, VI, 132; XVIII, 406). The mythic drunkenness appears to belong primarily to the sun-god in the west (otherwise conceived as aged, weak, or lame)

who is a falling god or one in need of assistance to keep him from falling. As the autumn (or fall) corresponds to the west, the sun-god in that season sometimes becomes the god of wine and a drunken god. Silenus, as drunk and unable to walk, is generally represented riding on an ass (for the setting sun). Orion becomes intoxicated and ravishes the daughter of Œnopion, whereupon the latter blinds the former (Apollod., I, 4, 3). Indra becomes intoxicated with soma juice (*Vishnu Purana,* IV, 1), as does Odin with "poetic mead" (*Elder Edda,* "Havamal," 14); and Noah becomes dead drunk and naked in his old age (Gen. ix. 20-27—naked like the sun-god deprived of light and heat). Noah's intoxication occurs after the

THE DRUNKEN DIONYSUS.
(Antique terra-cotta of Attica. From Carus, *Story of Samson,* p. 105.)

Deluge; and in the Egyptian legend of the destruction of nearly all of mankind by the aged Ra, we find the goddess Sekhet made drunk and put to sleep by drinking of the mythic flood of beer and blood that represents the red waters of the Nile near the beginning of the inundation (Budge, *Gods,* I, pp. 394, 395).

The horse, from its swiftness, was a general wind symbol; while the storm-winds were sometimes represented by mad or madly frightened horses—or, again, by wild horses, as in the case of the mares of Diomedes in the Herakles mythos. The madness of the wind horses appears as such in the story of Glaucus, who was torn to pieces by his four horses (belonging to the cardinal points) when

they had become maddened through drinking the waters of a sacred well or eating of the herb *hippomanes*—which was supposed to make horses mad (Hygin., *Fab.*, 250, 273; Schol. ad *Eurip. Or.*, 318, etc.). The winged horse Pegasus, upon which Bellerophon sought to mount to heaven, became maddened by a gadfly sent from Zeus and threw its rider to earth, thus laming him (Pindar, *Isth.*, VII, 44; Schol. ad *Pind. Ol.*, XIII, 130).

The Greek λύσσα and μανία are synonymous with the Latin *furor* and the Hebrew *chemah* (primarily "heat" and rendered "fury" in the A. V.). The Hebrew word is applied to the furious state of mind of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel ii and iii, which apparently culminated in his madness for seven years, during which "he was driven from men, and did eat grass as (do) oxen" (iv. 16, 33—doubtless a case of zoanthropia or imaginary transformation into an animal). David's feigned insanity (for which different words are employed) is that of a driveling idiot rather than of a maniac (1 Sam. xxi. 13-15). Saul appears to have been driven at times into the madness of melancholia by an "evil spirit of the Lord," after "the (good) spirit of the Lord" had departed from him; for he asked to be provided with some one to play the harp as a remedy. "And it came to pass, when the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took a harp and played with his hand; so Saul was refreshed and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him" (1 Sam. xvi. 14-23). The Septuagint has it that this evil spirit "choked" Saul; and Josephus says that "some strange and demoniacal disorders came upon him, and brought upon him such suffocations as were about to choke him"—following with statements representing Saul as possessed by a number of demons rather than by a single demon or spirit.

It was a very general belief among the ancient Orientals that persons suffering from certain diseases, especially those affecting the mind, were possessed by evil spirits—one of which was the Babylonian Idpa (Assyrian Asakku) who "acts upon the head of man" (*West. Asia. Inscript.*, IV, 29, 2; Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, p. 36, English ed.). The wind (or breath of the cosmic man, as of the human being) is the original spirit; and the Assyrio-Babylonian Tiamat is conquered by Bel-Marduk with the assistance of "the seven winds" created by him ("Seven Tablets of Creation," IV, lines 42-47, 95-100), which reappear as the seven rebellious storm-spirits in a Babylonian account of a war against the gods (*Records*, V, 163-166). The Assyrians held that seven evil spirits might collectively possess a man; frequent allusions to their expulsion being found on the tab-

lets, from one of which we gather that the heads, hands, and feet of the whole seven are removed from the head, hands, and feet of the victim, by means of exorcisms and talismans (*ibid.*, III, p. 140). The god who expelled them was probably Marduk as a healer of diseases, for he was sent by his father Hea to oppose evil enchantments, according to a Babylonian charm (*ibid.*, p. 143, note). In an Assyrian sacred poem we read that the god (probably Marduk) shall stand at the bedside of the possessed and expel the

PERSIAN DEVIL (AHRIMAN).

TURKISH DEVIL.

(From Didron, *Christian Iconography*, Vol. II, pp. 122 and 124.)

seven evil spirits from the latter's body, so they never return (*ibid.*, p. 147). And thus Jesus refers to "seven wicked spirits" as sometimes collectively entering into a man (Matt. xii. 45; Luke xi. 26), and is said to have cast "seven demons" out of the Magdalene (Mark xvi. 9; cf. Luke viii. 2—the allusion probably being to some lost story in which she had a lunar character).

In the Old Testament apocryphal Book of Tobit (of strong Persian coloring) it is stated that a smoke from the heart and liver

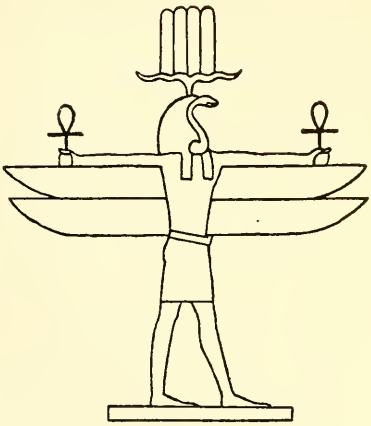
of a fish burned "before a man or a woman who is attacked by a demon or evil spirit" will drive it away immediately and forever (vi. 7). By this method of exorcism "Asmodæus the evil demon" was driven into Egypt (for the underworld), and bound there, at the time Tobias married Sara (*ibid.* viii. 2; cf. vi. 16); the demon having previously killed Sara's first seven husbands (iii. 8; vi. 13). Asmodæus is the Avesta Aeshma daeva = Demon of Wrath (and of concupiscence in Tobit, according to the Rabbis). He is the Aeshm of the *Bundahish*, where he is opposed by Serosh (XXX, 29), and where we read that "seven powers are given to Aeshm, that he may utterly destroy the creatures therewith: with those seven powers he will destroy seven of the Kayan heroes in his own time (cf. the first seven husbands of Sara), but one will remain (cf. Tobias as the surviving husband).... and the evil deeds of these Kayan heroes have been more complete through Aeshm... the impetuous assailant" (*ibid.*, XXVIII, 15-17). The Kayan heroes appear to be assimilated to "the seven chieftains of the constellations" in the *Bundahish*, where they are entirely distinct from "the seven chieftains of the planets" (V, 1), probably being identified as the rulers of the seven zodiac signs under which fell the seven months of the Iranian summer (*ibid.*, XXV, 7). Indeed, Aeshm = Wrath seems to have been recognized as the demon of the thunderstorm of summer, "his own time," in which he slew the seven constellation heroes—who in Tobit become the first seven husbands of Sara (perhaps for the earth-mother).

The Assyrians had a demon of the hot southwest wind that came from the Arabian desert, a winged monster with a dog's head, lion's paws, eagle's feet, and scorpion's tail. Its images were placed at doors and windows as a protection against the evil influences of the wind it represented (Lenormant, *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, V, p. 212). In an Egyptian inscription from the burial-place of Thebes, a deceased person is made to refer to some female demon, spirit, or deity called the Western Crest, who both inflicts and cures a certain disease connected with breathing (breath or wind being the original spirit). In the inscription it is said: "Beware of the Crest, for there is a lion in her, and she strikes like a lion that bewitches, and she is on the track of all that sin against her" (Sayce, *Rel. Anc. Eg. and Bab.*, p. 210). Sayce suggests, and no doubt correctly, that the disease inflicted by her is the asthma; the acute type of which, the *orthopnoea* of the Greek physicians, is marked by frightful convulsions and suffocations, often continuing for several hours, and generally at night. It is

therefore natural enough that it should be attributed to the agency of an evil spirit; the Western Crest probably being a figure of the west wind, perhaps the Assyrian dog-headed demon of the southwest wind as adopted and modified by the Egyptians, who generally represented the west wind as a serpent-headed god with a crest of four feathers (Budge, *Gods,* II, p. 296). Be this as it may, the Western Crest evidently had something of the character of Sekhet

ASSYRIAN DEMON OF THE SOUTHWEST WIND.

(From Lenormant, *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient,* Vol. V, p. 212.)



EGYPTIAN GOD OF THE WEST WIND.

(From Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians,* Vol. II, p. 296.)

= the Violent, the lion-headed goddess of heat and fire, who was sometimes assigned to the west (*ibid.,* I, p. 514).

The Egyptian Khensu (Chons in Greek) was a lunar god who controlled the evil spirits of the earth, air, sea, and sky, which were supposed to attack men in the form of diseases, causing madness and death. He represented the moon especially at the beginning of each month and the opening of spring (Budge, *Gods,* II, p. 36), and thus gave his name to the month Khensu or Pa-Khuns (= the Khuns), which became Paschons in Greek—the month of the spring

equinox in the sacred year of the Egyptians (Brugsch, *Calendrier des Egyptiens*, p. 53; *Records of the Past*, II, p. 161). In the circular planisphere of Dendera we find Khensu, with a pig in his outstretched hand, standing in the lunar disk, on the zodiac and in the house of Pisces as the sign of the spring equinox (which it became about the beginning of the Christian era); and as the sun is placed immediately below this lunar disk, there can be no doubt that a conjunction of sun and moon is represented, with Khensu in the new moon although figured in the disk. According to the celebrated stele of the Possessed Princess, an image of Khensu, "the great god, driver away of possessors," was transported from Egypt to Bekhten (supposed to be Assyria) for the purpose of curing Bent-Reshet = Daughter-of-joy, who was "in the condition of being under (the control of) a spirit." She is described as a princess of Bekhten and the "little sister" of the queen of Egypt, and is doubtless conceived as suffering from some mental disorder. The evil spirit is dispossessed by the god himself as the inhabitant of the image; and the god returns to Egypt in the form of a golden hawk, while the image is not sent back till some time later (*Records of the Past*, IV, pp. 53-56; N. S., III, pp. 217-220; Budge, *Gods*, II, pp. 38, 41). The whole story has been shown to be a fiction of the priests (A. Ermun, in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, pp. 53-60); and while its notations of years may have historical connections, there can be little doubt that the months and days belong to the course of the moon through nine calendar (solar) months of thirty days each—from the first new moon after the spring equinox to the full moon after the winter solstice in the sacred calendar—these nine months corresponding to the gestational period which the ancients often associated with the moon or some lunar figure, and over which Khensu ruled (see Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 35). Thus the journey of the image (and god) begins on the first of the month Paschons or Khensu (as fixed by the new moon) and occupies one year and five months (to the 1st of Paophi); the god's stay in Bekhten is for three years and some months and days (the translations differ), and the arrival of the image at home is assigned to the 19th of Mecheir (at the full moon after the winter solstice). Leaving the years out of the reckoning and assuming that this arrival was at the beginning of Mecheir 19, we have eighteen days in excess of nine lunar months of twenty-eight days each for its absence from Egypt, or exactly nine calendar (solar) months of thirty days each—which probably accounts for the date assigned to the arrival at home. The princess is evidently cured shortly

after the 1st of Paophi, the close of which coincided with the autumn equinox in the sacred calendar (see Plutarch, *De Iside*, 52). Paophi therefore corresponds to the last month of the summer half of the year outside of Egypt; whence it would appear that the princess was possessed of the demon of the summer thunderstorm (of Western Asia, as storms are practically unknown in Egypt): and there can be little doubt that she originally represented the moon as under the control of the lunar god Khensu.

Assyria and Syria were frequently confused in ancient times, and there is a close similarity between the word Khensu (Greek Chons) and the native name of Phœnicia, Kna (Greek Chna; Hebrew Canaan); in connection with which we may notice that Origen (*Contra Cels.*, VIII, 58 and 59) preserves some of the names of Egyptian demons as known in the second century A. D., including Chnoumen (for Khnumu or Khnemu), Chna-chnoumen and Knat (apparently a feminine form of Kna). It is therefore not improbable that some supposed Bekhten to be Syria or Phœnicia or the Syro-Phœnicia of the Roman Empire, and that the legend of the Possessed Princess directly or indirectly suggested the Gospel story in which Jesus cures the possessed daughter of a woman who is a Greek Syro-Phœnician (Mark) or Canaanite (Matthew). The Gospel story appears only in Mark (vii. 24-30) and Matthew (xv. 21-28), the version in the former presumably being the earlier. Mark refers to the possessed girl as the "little daughter" of the Syro-Phœnician woman (cf. the possessed princess as the "little sister" of the queen of Egypt), and says she "had a spirit unclean." The mother asked Jesus to "cast forth the demon out of her daughter," who was at a distance, at home; and Jesus finally told the mother that it had gone forth, which of course proved true. In the Sinaitic Palimpsest (the oldest extant manuscript of the canonical Gospels) we find Mark's woman as a widow—as if for the earth-mother after the death of the father-sun in autumn or winter—and in all probability the "little daughter" was originally the moon, as in the case of the possessed princess.

A god is sometimes referred to as a demon in Homer (*Il.*, XVII, 98, 99, etc.), while in Baruch iv. 7, and in 1 Cor. x. 20, the heathen gods are demons (cf. the Sept. of Ps. xcvi. 5, where "all the gods of the heathen are demons"). Herodotus quotes a certain Greek as saying: "Ye Scythians laugh at us because we celebrate the Bacchanals, and the god (θεός) possesses us; but now the same demon (οὗτος ὁ δαίμων) has taken possession of your king, for he celebrates the Bacchanals and is made raging mad by the god"

(IV, 79). In later Greek times a demon became an intermediate being, a messenger between gods and men, like the original angel (= messenger; Heb. *malak*; Sept. and N. T. ἄγγελος); and it was held that these demons were the spirits of the dead, inhabiting the air—one class being good and another evil, the latter inflicting diseases upon men (cf. the good and evil spirits in the story of Saul). But all demons were held to be evil by Greco-Jewish writers at the beginning of the Christian era. Thus Josephus says that demons "are no other than the spirits of the wicked, which enter into men that are alive, and kill them unless they can obtain some help against them" (*Bell. Jud.*, VII, 6, 3); and he tells us that he saw a Jewish exorcist draw out demons through the nostrils (as breath-

From a MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. 13th century. (Didron, *Ann.*, Vol. I, p. 75.)

From Anglo-Saxon MS, Brit. Museum. Early 11th cent. (Wright, *Hist. of Car. and Grot. in Lit. and Art.*, p. 56.)

SATAN AS A DEMON.

ing-places) of possessed persons, by means of a talismanic ring; some of these demons upsetting a basin of water in proof of having left their victims (*Antiq.*, VIII, 2, 5). For the same reason a demon throws down a statue upon being expelled from a young man by Apollonius of Tyana (Philostrat., *Vit. Apollon.*, IV, 20), and this miracle-working contemporary of Jesus is said to have put an end to a plague at Ephesus by discovering the cause of it, a demon that had taken the guise of an old beggar, who was stoned to death and found to be a huge beast in the form of a dog (*ibid.*, IV, 10). The New Testament demons are always evil or "unclean"; and although the word devil (διάβολος) is there employed only as an epithet of

Satan (except in John vi. 70), nevertheless the demons finally became identified with the devils or evil angels—whence δαίμων and δαιμόνιον are rendered "devil" in the A. V. (cf. Acts x. 38, where Jesus is said to have healed "all that were being oppressed by the devil"—διάβολος).

In Is. xxxv, possessed persons are not included among those to be cured in the Messianic kingdom, nor is there anything of the expulsion of evil spirits in the Old Testament except in the case of Saul. Nevertheless, a Messiah like Jesus could hardly be conceived without including mental diseases among those cured by him. Buddha puts "all darkness to flight" at his birth, so "the blind see, the deaf hear and the demented are restored to reason" (*Lalita Vistara*, I, 76). In the presence of Apollonius, certain Brahmins wrote a threatening letter to a demon which was the spirit of a soldier killed in battle, and thus dispossessed it from a boy at a distance whom it was wont to drive into desert places (Philostrat., *Vit. Apollon.*, III, 38). Jesus cast out demons from many persons, according to Mark i. 32, 34, 39; iii. 11; Luke iv. 36, 41; vi. 18; Matt. viii. 16 and iv. 24—in the last cited text a distinction being made between those ordinarily possessed by demons (= mad persons) and epileptics or "lunatics" (σεληνιαζομένους, in accordance with the Greek belief that epileptics were moonstruck—Lucan, *Tox.*, 24, the same authority ascribing the malady to possession by demons in *Philopseud.*, 16, as do Isidor., *Orig.*, IV, 7, and Manetho, IV, 81, 216). Jesus also gave the twelve Apostles power to cast out demons (Mark iii. 15; vi. 7, 13; Luke ix. 1; x. 17, 20; Matt. x. 1, 8); but there is nothing of this class of cures in the Gospel of John, probably because the reputed expulsion of evil spirits had become too commonplace when and where that Gospel was written (about 125 A. D., some suppose at Ephesus, others at Alexandria). Thus, about a century later Celsus compares the miracles of Jesus to the tricks of magicians "and the feats of those who have been taught by Egyptians, who, in the middle of the market-place and for a few obols, will impart the knowledge of their most venerated arts, and will expel demons from men, and dispel diseases," etc. (Origen, *Contra Cels.*, I, 68).

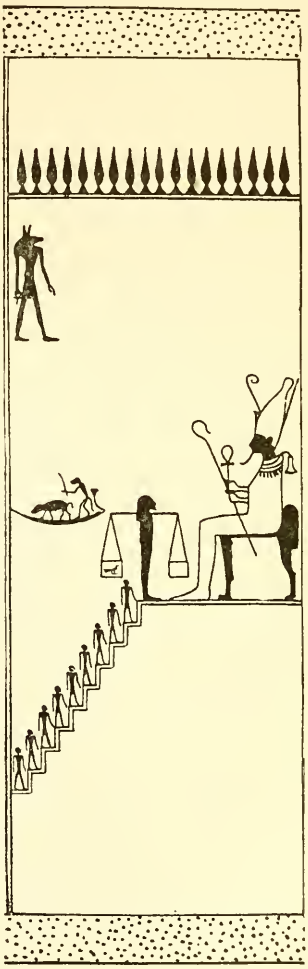
It was generally held by the Greeks, Jews, and Egyptians that at the death of a human being, whether good or bad, the spirit descended into the underworld. The Greeks conceived of no resurrection; that of the later Jews was assigned to the Messianic kingdom, and the Egyptians believed that righteous souls arose into the celestial regions like the sun, while the wicked were annihi-

lated in the underworld. Thus with the generality of Jews and Greeks the underworld ("the abyss" of Luke viii. 31) is the proper residence of demons as identified with the spirits of sinful men: and in a previous article of this series it was suggested that the underworld terra firma is represented by "the country of the Gadarenes" where Jesus cured "a man with an unclean spirit, who had his dwelling in the tombs," and who was not permitted to leave that country after being cured—according to Mark v. 1-20. This man was a raging maniac—"and not even with chains was any one able to bind him, because he often had been bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been torn asunder, and the fetters had been shattered, and no one was able to subdue him. And continually night and day in the mountains and in the tombs he was crying and cutting himself with stones. And having seen Jesus from afar, he ran and did homage to him, and crying with a loud voice, he said, What to me and to thee, Jesus (A. V., 'What have I to do with thee, Jesus'), son of God the most high? I adjure thee, by God, not to torment me. For he (Jesus) was saying to him (or rather, to the spirit in him), Come forth, the spirit, the unclean, out of the man. And he asked him (the spirit), What is thy name? And he answered, saying, Legion is my name, because we are many. And he (the spirit) besought him (Jesus) much that he would not send them (the legion of spirits) out of the country. Now there was there, just at the mountains, a great herd of swine feeding, and all the demons besought him (Jesus), saying, Send us into the swine, that we may enter into them. And immediately Jesus permitted them (to do so). And having gone out (of the man) the unclean spirits entered into the swine, and the herd rushed down the steep into the sea—now they were about two thousand—and they were choked (i. e., drowned) in the sea." (This is quite inconsistent with the statement that the spirits had asked to be sent into the swine, of course as their future habitations.) And the man who had been "possessed by demons" is shortly found sitting with Jesus, "clothed and of sound mind."

The confused assimilation of a single demon to a legion in this story appears to have been suggested by the Assyrian concept of possession by seven such spirits simultaneously; and the two thousand swine doubtless correspond to the number of demons that entered them—each of the ten cohorts of a Roman military legion thus being recognized as composed of two hundred men, while in the *Book of Enoch* (VI. 6) the number of the fallen angels (= evil spirits or demons) is two hundred. Luke has substantially the

same story as Mark, but omits the number of the swine (viii. 28-39), while Matthew's version is much abbreviated and with two men "possessed by demons" that go into the herd of swine, the number of which is omitted (cf. the two blind men, *ibid.* ix. 27, and xx. 30, as against one in the parallel stories of Mark and Luke).

In one of the later Egyptian views of the wicked dead, the *khu* or luminous spirit returns to its original source while the soul is punished for ages between earth and heaven; at times being buffeted by the storms; again, seeking alleviation from its torments by entering the body of a man or animal, driving it to madness (Sayce, *Rel. Anc. Eg. and Bab.*, p. 69). Swine are proverbially unclean in ancient as in modern literature, and Horapollo says that among the Egyptian symbols a hog signified "a filthy man" (*Hieroglyph.*, II, 37); while on the sarcophagus of Seti I in the London Soane Museum is depicted an ape (a storm-cloud figure and one of the punitive agents of the underworld), who is "chasing away with a stick a soul fresh from the Hall of Judgment, but already turned into a swine" (Bonwick, *Eg. Bel.*, p. 64 and illustration in Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 189). In a Babylonian inscription one of the gods says: "The spirits of the earth I made grope like swine in the hollows" (*West. Asiatic Inscrip.*, II, 19, 49b). At the Greek Thesmophoria, an autumn festival in memory of Persephone's descent into the underworld, swine were thrown alive into caverns; the fable being that a herd of swine had been engulfed in the chasm through which Pluto bore Persephone (Pausan., I, 14, 2). Again, when the lunar eye of Horus was swallowed by



SCENE IN THE EGYPTIAN JUDGMENT HALL.*
(Budge, *Gods*, Vol. I, p. 189.)

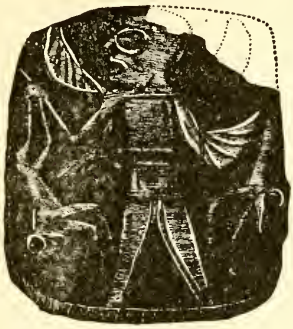
* From the "Book of Pylons," Sixth Hour, as represented on the sarcophagus of Seti I.

Set, the latter had transformed himself into a black hog as a figure of the storm as well as of the night and underworld (*Book of the Dead*, CXII; the Theban Recension referring this deed to a mighty storm and "a blow of fire"—for lightning). All of which suggests that the swine of the Gospel story were originally storm-clouds, thus being appropriate habitations for "unclean spirits" who represented the raging winds of the underworld, which finally take the clouds into the underworld sea. In the view of not being permitted to leave the country after his cure, the man of the story appears to be merely one of the dead in the underworld; but in all probability he originally represented the sun—Matthew substituting two men as if for the sun and moon.

In Mark i. 23-27 and Luke iv. 33-36 (but not in Matthew), Jesus at Capernaum drives an unclean spirit out of a man who was probably an epileptic, for he was thrown into convulsions as the spirit came forth—according to Mark. In Mark ix. 17-29, Luke ix. 38-42, and Matt. xvii. 14-21, Jesus expels an unclean spirit or demon from a certain man's son who is obviously epileptic ("from childhood," according to Mark); the Disciples previously having failed to effect this cure (just as a widow's son was restored to life by Elisha after his disciple had failed in the attempt—2 Kings iv. 31-35). Matthew alone says of this boy, ". . .he is lunatic" (i. e., epileptic—see above), while only in the extant text of Mark is he represented as dumb and deaf, an idea that probably had no place in the original story. Nevertheless, the Assyrians and Babylonians sometimes recognized special evil spirits for the several parts of the human body (Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. and Assyr.*, p. 262, ed. 1898). And thus in Luke xi. 14-21, Jesus expels a demon "and it was dumb"; he cures "a dumb man possessed by a demon" in Matt. ix. 32-34, while *ibid.* xii. 22-28, he cures a person "possessed by a demon, blind and dumb."

In connection with the three last accounts we find Jesus accused of casting out demons by "the chief (ἄρχων) of the demons," who is called Beelzeboul in Matt. xii. 24 and Luke xi. 15, and who is evidently "the chief in (or 'of') the rule of the air, the spirit that now works in the sons of disobedience" in Eph. ii. 2. According to Mark iii. 21-30, the friends of Jesus said: "He is without his mind (ἐξέστη). And the scribes who came down from Jerusalem said, Beelzeboul he has, and (they also said), By the chief of the demons he casts out demons"—Beelzeboul here apparently being identified with Satan (verses 23, 26; cf. Matt. x. 25). In the Syriac Peshito, Vulgate, and A. V. we find "Beelzebub" instead of "Beel-

zeboul"; and the latter name, which appears nowhere outside of the Gospel texts cited, is doubtless a variant of Baal-zebub (= Baal-of-flies or Lord-of-flies), an oracular deity of the Philistines (2 Kings i. 2, 3, 16). He was perhaps so called from the flies that gathered around sacrifices offered to him; the insects being identified as demons by some (cf. the gadfly that drove Io and Pegasus to madness). According to Luke xi. 19, 20, Jesus asked: "And if I by Beelzeboul cast out the demons, by whom do your sons cast them out?....But if by the finger of God I cast out the demons, then is come upon you the kingdom of God." The accusation that Jesus was possessed of an evil spirit or demon is a favorite one in John (vii. 20; viii. 48-52; x. 20; the last text reading: "A demon



ANCIENT PHILISTINE SEAL

Supposed to represent Beelzebub, probably as a storm-god holding two cloud-apes. (From De Hass, *Travels in Bible Lands,* p. 424.)

he (Jesus) has and is maniacal"—*μαίνεται*). John the Baptist also is accused of having a demon (Matt. xi. 18; Luke vii. 33), and Satan is said to have entered into Judas when he betrayed Jesus (Luke xxii. 3; John xiii. 27—cf. 2 and vi. 70). Hermes Trismegistus called the Devil or Satan the ruler of the demons and identified the latter with the fallen angels, according to Lactantius (*Div. Inst.,* II, 15-16).

In Acts, many unclean spirits are cast out by the Apostles (v. 6 and 12), and by Philip (viii. 7); while Paul, in the name of Jesus Christ, expels "a spirit of Python" from a damsel who gained much for her masters by divining (xvi. 16-18; for the serpent Python killed by the oracular Apollo at Delphi finally gave its name to any demon of divination—Hesychius, s. v. *Python,* etc.). Again in Acts xix. 11-16, Paul expels "wicked spirits" in the name of Jesus, while certain Jewish exorcists fail to do likewise. Among

those exorcists were the seven sons of a high priest Skeuas (A. V., Sceva); and when all seven, or only two of them (as some manuscripts indicate) attempted to expel a spirit from a certain man in a house, the spirit not only refused to recognize their authority, but the man himself leapt upon them and overpowered them, "so that naked and wounded they escaped out of that house." (For the reading that indicates two instead of seven exorcists as thus overpowered, see Lange's *Commentary, in loc.*) It is quite probable that this story is a mere variant of some myth of the defeat of the seven planetary gods or angels by the mad cosmic man during a storm in the celestial house of the upper hemisphere; all seven planetary figures being defeated in one view, while only the sun and moon are included in another. Thus in the *Bundahish* the ringleaders of the demons in the celestial conflict are definitely said to be the seven planets (XXVIII, 43, 44); while in the *Book of Enoch* the chief leaders of the rebellious and fallen angels who were cast out of heaven (XV, 3; LXIX, 4, etc.) are the "seven stars" imprisoned in the underworld (XVIII, 13-16). And among the allusions to the cosmic battle of Chap. XVII, *Book of the Dead*, Saïte Recension, it is said of Shu (Light or Space as answering to our atmosphere) that "the rebel's sons are against him.... The night for the fight is when they arrive at the eastern part of the sky: then there is battle in heaven and in the whole world" (48). And again (*ibid.*, 8) we read that Shu "has annihilated the children of rebellion in the City-of-the-Eight" (Hermopolis on earth, but probably also for the upper hemisphere with eight cardinal points).

There are many cures of demoniacs in the apocryphal Gospels and Acts, some of which appear to include concepts from the nature mythos. Thus the three-year old son of an Egyptian priest was "beset by several demons," so that he raved and tore off his clothes and threw stones at people. Entering a hospital, "his usual disease having come upon him," he there found the Virgin Mary drying the cloths of the infant Jesus, after having washed them; and when the demonized boy put one of these cloths on his head, "the demons, fleeing in the shape of ravens and serpents, began to go forth out of his mouth," and he was "immediately healed at the command of the Lord Christ" (*Infancy*, 10, 11—the cloths apparently representing the infant sun-god's apparel of light that drives away the storm-winds and dark clouds, the latter often being conceived as dragons or serpents). Apollonius of Tyana cured a young man who had been bitten by a mad dog, and who was running on all fours, barking and howling; the cure being effected through the in-

strumentality of the dog, which was tamed and made to lick the young man's wound (Philostrat., *Vit. Apollon.*, VI, 43). In *Infancy* we find Judas Iscariot as a boy "tormented by Satan,"—and "as often as Satan seized him, he used to bite all who came near him; and if he found no one near him, he used to bite his own hands and other limbs.... And the demoniac Judas came up, and sat down at the right hand of (the child) Jesus: then, being attacked by Satan in the same manner as usual, he (Judas) wished to bite the Lord Jesus, but was not able; nevertheless he struck Jesus on the right side, whereupon he (Jesus) began to weep. And immediately Satan went forth out of that boy, fleeing like a mad dog, ...in the shape of a dog" (*ibid.*, 35—where the weeping Jesus appears to have the character of the youthful sun-god in a rain storm, with Judas for the cosmic man whose madness is caused by Satan in form of a mad dog, probably for the Dog Star as the ruler of the "dog days" of midsummer). In ancient as in modern times the excessive heat of the "dog days" has been recognized as the cause of the midsummer canine madness (properly not including hydrophobia); and the dog days, some forty in number, were supposed to be ruled by the bright star Sirius (= Glittering or Scorching) when it rose heliacally at or about the time of the summer solstice. In all probability it was from the association of this star with the dog days that it was called the Dog Star by the Greeks and Romans and sometimes by the Babylonians and Egyptians (Allen, *Star Names*, pp. 120-129); while it is equally probable that as the Dog Star it gave the name and figure of a dog to the constellation in which it is found. Manilius refers to this constellation (Canis Major) as if it suffered from madness at the summer solstice as anciently in the zodiacal sign of Leo:

> "But when the Lion's gaping jaws aspire (breathe violently)
> The dog appears, and foams unruly fire.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> To other climates beast and birds retire,
> And feverish nature burns in her own fire."

And of the Dog Star itself at this time:

> "His rising beams presage
> Ungoverned fury and unruly rage,
> A flaming anger, universal hate."
> (*Astron.*, V, 12; Creech's trans.)

In Luke xiii. 11-17 (and there only) we have the cure of a possessed woman who is conceived as suffering from a forward

curvature of the spine; apparently without paralysis, but doubtless with impairment of mind. This seems to be the affliction known to the Greek physicians as *lordosis* (from λορδός = "bent forward or inward," as of the crescent moon, etc., and opposed to ὑβός = "bent outward or backward," Latin *gibbus*, as of a hunchback, etc., whence our "gibbous moon"); and the Greeks had a demon Lordon (from λορδός, apparently *in sensu obscoeno*), who is mentioned as early as the fifth century B. C. by Plato Comicus and the physician Phaon (*De Salub. Vict. Rat.*, II, 17). This demon Lordon appears to be represented by the "spirit of infirmity" in Luke's story, which is as follows: "And behold, there was a woman having a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, and she was bent together (συγκύπτουσα) and unable to raise herself wholly. And seeing her, Jesus called to her, and said, Woman, thou hast been loosed from thine infirmity. And he laid his hands upon her, and immediately she was made straight, and glorified God.... (And Jesus said,) And this woman, being a daughter of Abraham (i. e., a Jewess), whom Satan has bound, lo, eighteen years, should not she be loosed on the sabbath day?"

A supposed prophecy of a cure of this kind was probably recognized in Ps. cxlvi. 8—"The Lord openeth the eyes of the blind: the Lord raiseth them that are bowed (or 'bent') down" (Sept. "sets up the broken down"; cf. cxlv. 14); but the cure itself as found was doubtless derived from the current nature mythos. In the *Vishnu Purana* (V, 20), it is related that Krishna, proceeding along a road with Balarama, met a young girl called Kubja (= Bent or Crooked) carrying a pot of unguent of which she gave freely to them: and after they had anointed themselves, Krishna worked on the girl with his hands and "made her straight," so she became "a most beautiful woman." (In the parallel story in the *Bhagavata Purana*, X, she is called Trivakra = Triply-deformed.) Again, in the *Ramayana* we find a hundred girls similarly bent (I, 34). They were the beautiful daughters of King Kusanabha, and were loved by the wind-god, whom they repulsed; wherefore in his "mighty rage" he sent a blast upon each of them, which "bowed and bent" them, so they were "bent double"—whence their father's city was named Kanyakubja (= Of-the-Bent-Virgins). But they were cured and restored to beauty by another king, Brahmadatta (= Given-by-Brahma), when he took their hands in his (apparently all at the same time); and finally he married all of them

In all probability the original bent female was the crescent moon, which the sun-god restores to its perfect fulness (gradually.

in the Krishna story) by means of his rays of light conceived as arms with their hands; in fact, one of the names of the moon in Norse mythology is Skialgr = Bent, while the lunar crescent is the bow of Artemis-Diana (Homer, *Il.*, XXI, 483, etc.). Kubja, whom the solar Krishna restored, is represented as a maid-servant of the wicked Kansa (as a night figure) who is finally killed by Krishna; and the hundred girls of the *Ramayana* were probably suggested by the multiplicity of moons restored as time goes by. Regarding Luke's eighteen years for his woman's infirmity, they perhaps represent an original period of fourteen days for the crescent moon; and in all probability Luke's period, as we have it, was suggested by the Babylonian eighteen-year cycle of lunar eclipses (for which see R. Brown, *Primitive Constellations*, I, p. 323).

What appears to be an ancient Greek version of the cure of the bent lunar figure is found in connection with the fabulous account of the birth of Demaratus, King of Sparta. The name of his mother is unknown, but Herodotus tells us that she was the third wife of Ariston and deformed as an infant. Her nurse carried her every day to a temple of the goddess Helena (herself a lunar figure), who stroked the child and said that she would surpass all the Spartan women in beauty; whereupon her appearance immediately began to change. In the bloom of her womanhood she became the mother of Demaratus, not by Ariston, but by a specter which was identified as that of the hero Astrabacus (Herod., V, 61 and 69). This obscure hero or demi-god was probably a solar figure; for according to another legend he and his brother Alopecus became mad at the sight of a statue of (the lunar) Artemis Orthia which they found in a bush (Pausan., III, 16, 5).

The mythic fever belongs primarily to the hot summer season; the storms of that season (in most lands) naturally being identified with the delirium or frenzy (Greek φρενῖτις, literally "heated-mind") that accompanies fever of the acute type in human beings. Of course, the sun was generally recognized as the cause or source of the mythic fever that affects not only the earth, but the whole cosmos; and the sun-god himself was sometimes conceived as suffering from this fever. Thus the Egyptian destruction of nearly all of mankind (corresponding to that of the Biblical Deluge) is evidently the result of the heat and drought that are brought to an end by Ra's beneficent act of pouring out the waters over the fields (referring to the Nile inundation, beginning at the summer solstice). This destruction of men is to punish them for murmuring against Ra because he has grown old and weak (at the close of the Egyptian

year); and he says, "The pain of burning heat (i. e., fever) of sickness hath come upon me.... For the first time my limbs have lost their power" (Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 366).

In the burning heat of summer we doubtless have the primary suggestion for the belief that the universe will be destroyed by fire, which was held by Heraclitus and the Stoics; some of the ancients supposing that a destruction by fire would alternate from time to time with one by water. Thus the Chaldean Berosus is said to have assigned the next destruction by fire to a time when a conjunction of all the planets occurs in Cancer (the sign of the summer solstice about 2000-1 B. C.), while a like conjunction in Capricorn (the sign of the winter solstice in the same precessional period) will mark the succeeding destruction by water (Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.*, III, 29). And some of the Jews and early Christians, accepting the Biblical Deluge as the last destruction of the past, believed that the next would be by fire (2 Peter iii. 10; *Sibyl. Orac.*, II, 195-198; V, 510-531; VII, 115-121; Lactant., *Div. Inst.*, VII, 18).

During the precessional period of about 4000-2000 B. C. the summer solstice fell in Leo, the original constellation of that sign doubtless having been conceived as a lion because of the fierce and murderous heat of the tropic midsummer; and after the solstice had retrograded into the house of Cancer, the constellated Lion was removed into that house, where we still have it. According to Ælian (*Nat. An.*, XII, 7), the Egyptians assigned the fore part of the lion to fire and the hind part to water (for the Nile inundation); and he also says that the lion was sacred to Vulcan (as the god of fire). The Dog Star rose heliacally at or about the time of the summer solstice, as we saw above, and Homer says that it brings "fiery heat (πυρετός) upon miserable mortals" (*Il.*, XXII, 31—πυρετός being the usual Greek word for fever, as in the New Testament); Hesiod tells us that "the season of the Dog Star's reign weakens the nerves and burns the brain of man" (*Op. et Dies*, II, 270-271), and Manilius has it that "feverish nature burns in her own fire....the earth's low entrails burn" during the reign of the constellated Dog and Lion (*Astron.*, V, 12). According to Pliny the eating of a lion's heart will cure a quartan fever (*H. N.*, XXXIII, 25—probably because Regulus, the chief star of Leo, was called "the Lion's Heart," by Greeks and Romans), and Horapollo says of the Egyptians that, "when they would denote a feverish man who cures himself, they depict a lion devouring an ape, for if, when in a fever, he devours an ape, he recovers" (*Hieroglyph.*, II, 76—as probably suggested by some mythic association of the feverish solar lion with the ape

as a symbol of the storm-cloud). Various heroes and athletes are fabled to have been lion-killers, whence doubtless arose the belief that some of them cured fevers, operating through their statues after death. Thus the hero Polydamus, who killed a lion on Mt. Olympus, had a statue at Olympia that cured fever-stricken patients—according to Lucian, who adds that a statue of the athlete Theagenes in Thasos did the same (*Deor. Concil.*, 12; cf. Pausan., VI, 11, 3, where it is said that Theagenes, a son of the lion-killing Heracles, "healed men of their diseases"). Lucian also gives us (at least partially from his imagination) an account of an animated statue that cured a certain Pelichus of "a third relapse in a quotidian fever" (*Philopseud.*, 17). The Romans had a goddess Febris = Fever, who was the averter of fever (Val. Max., II, 5, 6; Cic., *De Leg.*, II, 11; *De Nat. Deor.*, III, 25, etc.). The *Ayeen Akbery* specifies *fever* as the punishment for killing an innocent person in a former life on earth (p. 445); while in Deut. xxviii. 22, among the curses to be sent by God for disobedience we find three progressive orders of fever: *qaddachath* = burning (A. V. "fever"), *dalleqeth* = fiery burning (A. V. "inflammation"), and *charchur* = intense burning (A. V. "extreme burning").

There is no typical fever cure in the Old Testament, and no prophecy of such a cure for the Messianic kingdom; nor do the New Testament group statements of the many persons cured by Jesus include fever. Nevertheless, in all three Synoptics we find Simon Peter's mother-in-law cured of fever by Jesus, the original account presumably being that of Mark i. 29-33, where we read: "And immediately having gone forth out of the synagogue (where a demoniacal man was cured), they (apparently Jesus, Simon, and Andrew) came into the house of Simon and Andrew, with James and John. And the mother-in-law of Simon was lying in a fever. And immediately they speak to him (Jesus) about her. And having come to her, he raised her up, having taken her hand. And the fever left her immediately, and she ministered to them. And evening being come, when the sun went down, they brought to him (Jesus) all that were sick," etc. In Luke's abbreviated account, which also follows the cure of the demoniac in the synagogue, the febrine disorder is a "great fever," and Jesus stood over Simon's mother-in-law and "rebuked the fever, and it left her" (iv. 38, 39 —the violent fever doubtless here being identified with a demon as the cause of delirium). Matthew follows Mark in a much abbreviated form; substitutes "Peter" for "Simon," and puts the account in a different place in the Gospel narrative (viii. 14, 15).

In former articles of this series reasons were set forth for concluding that Peter (Petros), as the first Apostle and a fisherman, was recognized by some of the earliest Christians as the Opener (like the Egyptian Ptah and Petra), thence being conceived by some as a figure of Pisces (the Fishes). The Greek and Roman astrologers assigned their twelve great gods to the zodiac in pairs, with a male and female in opposite signs—of course as generally paired by marriage, etc. Thus in the scheme of the gods and the signs on some Greek monuments we find Poseidon in Pisces and Demeter in Virgo (De Clarac, *Musée*, II, Plate 171; Guigniaut, Plate 68, fig. 252); the same allotments being given by Manilius to the corresponding Roman divinities, Neptune and Ceres (*Astron.*, II, 26). The zodiacal Peter therefore corresponds to Poseidon or Neptune, and his wife to Demeter or Ceres; and Virgo is the only woman in the zodiac, while Peter is the only married Apostle in the New Testament (a definite mention of his wife being found in 1 Cor. ix. 5—cf. *Clementine Recognitions*, VII, 25, and Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*, VII, 11, etc.). Thus it appears that Peter's mother-in-law is a mythic counterpart of the earth-mother Rhea, mythology making Kronos and Rhea the parents of both Poseidon and Demeter (Hesiod, *Theog.*, 452, etc.); and there can be little or no doubt that the Gospel story under consideration was suggested by the cure of the earth-mother's fever at the close of the hot season. Virgo was anciently a summer sign, into which the autumn equinox retrograded at about the beginning of the Christian era. As connected with the day and night as well as with the summer season, the mythic fever was naturally represented as cured at sunset, which in all probability suggested the Gospel allusions to the coming of the evening and the setting of the sun immediately after the cure (in Mark and Luke; only the coming of the evening reappearing in Matthew). Moreover, at the beginning of autumn, Pisces rises at sunset; or in mythical language the zodiacal Peter, with other Apostles (or signs), comes into the upper hemisphere as the house of the earth-mother, which is also that of the setting Virgo. But as Virgo immediately sets, Peter's wife is not introduced in the Gospel story, where Peter is necessarily accompanied by Jesus as the worker of the miracle, and naturally also by the Apostles already chosen.

The Greeks generally identified Demeter with the Egyptian Isis (Herod., III, 156), who was probably a lunar figure originally (as in Plutarch, *De Iside*, 52); but she was also identified with the earth-mother (Plut., *ibid.*, 56, etc.), and sometimes with Sirius,

the Dog Star, the Egyptian Sept (in Greek, Sothis—*ibid.*, 22, 61; Diod., I, 27). Thus if referred to Egyptian mythology, Peter's mother-in-law is a counterpart of Nut, the heaven-goddess (whose fever of course belongs to the hot season), while his wife is a counterpart of Isis as the moon, earth, Virgo, or Sirius—that star in one view being the cause of the summer fever. But in another view the cause or producer of the fever would be Set or Typhon, who was sometimes recognized as a figure of the summer sun—as such being "of a scorching nature" and representing "everything dry and fiery," according to Plutarch (*De Iside*, 33, 41, etc.—cf. the fever of Peter's mother-in-law as identified with a demon in Luke).

The Capernaum nobleman's son of John iv. 47-52, appears to be the same as the paralytic servant of the centurion in Matt. viii. 5-12, and Luke vii. 1-10; the statements that the latter was "grievously tormented" (Matthew) and "about to die" (Luke, followed by John) apparently having suggested John's addition of the fever, which left the boy in the same hour, the seventh, that Jesus had pronounced him cured from a distance. In Acts vii. 8, Paul cures the father of a certain Publius of fevers and dysentery by the laying on of hands. In the *Gospel of the Infancy* (29) we find two wives of one man, each with a son suffering from fever at the same time; one of the women being named Mary, while her son is Cleopas (cf. Luke xxiv. 18; John xix. 25). Mary cures Cleopas by dressing him in a shirt made of one of the infant Christ's bandages; but the son of the other woman dies, so in her jealous hatred she first puts Cleopas in a very hot oven and afterward throws him into a well. He is found laughing and unharmed in the former, and equally unharmed in the latter, sitting on the water; the wicked woman herself finally falling into the well where she is drowned. Sike, in a note in his edition of *Infancy*, compares this to a story from Kessæus, in which the child Moses is put in an oven for safe-keeping by his mother when she leaves home, a fire being kindled under the oven by the child's sister, not knowing he is there; but he is not only unharmed, but thereby saved from the officers of Pharaoh who come seeking him. Both stories were probably suggested primarily by the concept of the summer sun in the hot oven of the upper hemisphere, with the sky as the father and the earth as the mother of the fevered solar child; the well in *Infancy* being a counterpart of the underworld sea or earth-surrounding ocean, while the boy who dies is a mere duplication of Cleopas, probably being conceived as killed by the cosmic fever at the summer solstice.

THE INTERMENT OF JESUS.

BY WM. WEBER.

THE New Testament contains five accounts of the burial of Jesus. Four of them are the well-known Joseph of Arimathæa pericope which occurs in each of the four Gospels. The fifth is found in John xix. 31-34.

The attention of scholars has always been attracted by the first four narratives, while the fifth passage has been generally overlooked. The method prevailing among laymen, by which it is expected to establish the historical truth may be described as follows. The four Gospels, it is taken for granted, contain the reports of four different eye-witnesses. These have been impressed in different degrees by different phases of the events they record. All we have to do in order to make sure of what actually happened, is to combine all the features of all the accounts of a given event into one composite picture.

But from the very beginning of Bible criticism, a very marked and close relationship of the sections common to the first three Gospels was noticed and has induced scholars since Griesbach and Neander to distinguish those Gospels from the last by the adjective "Synoptic." Their parallel passages agree to such an extent in construction as well as in vocabulary as if not three writers, but one and the same person were speaking. Moreover, the author of the third Gospel states directly (Luke i. 1-4) that he is not an eye-witness but a collector and editor of manuscripts that were in circulation when he formed the plan of composing out of them his Gospel.

Therefore, the pericopes common to the Synoptics or to all four Gospels, may be after all not independent reports of four individual narrators, but only different revisions of originally one written account. Whosoever desires to ascertain the real facts of the life of Jesus thus, has first of all to make sure of the mutual relationship of the accounts from which he derives his information.

In the case of the Joseph of Arimathæa episode the task is not very difficult. It is easy enough to remove quite a number of later

additions to the text; and the oldest versions within our reach can be proved to have read as follows:

MATT.	MARK	LUKE	JOHN
When it got late, a man, Joseph of Arimathæa by name, went to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. And Joseph took the body and wrapped it in a linen cloth and laid it in a tomb which was hewn out in the rock.	When it got late, as it was "preparation," Joseph of Arimathæa went in to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. And he took him down and wound him in a linen cloth and laid him in a sepulcher which had been hewn out of a rock.	A man, Joseph of Arimathæa by name, went to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. And he took it down, wrapped it in a linen cloth and laid him in a sepulcher hewn out of the rock. And it was a day of "preparation," and the Sabbath star began to shine.	Joseph of Arimathæa requested of Pilate that he might take down the body of Jesus. And he took and bound it with linen cloths. But there was in the place where he was crucified a tomb. There now on account of the "preparation," he laid Jesus.

1. The first change in Matt. is that from the received text: "There came a rich man from Arimathæa, named Joseph" to: "a man, Joseph of Arimathæa by name." According to the first version, Joseph would have come just at that moment from Arimathæa, which then must have been a place near Jerusalem. The proposed reading makes the man's name Joseph of Arimathæa in a similar way as, for instance, Jesus is called Jesus of Nazareth. That is supported by the testimony of the other three Gospels.

The adjectives "rich" before "man" (verse 57), "clean" before "linen cloth" (verse 59), and "his own new" before "tomb" (verse 60), have been dropped for the same reason, namely, because the other Gospels do not have these words. The last-mentioned addition to the text is closely connected with the first adjective. The student responsible for both glosses attempted to remove thereby the difficulty presented by the fact that Jesus was buried by Joseph of Arimathæa in a grave appropriated for that purpose without the owner's knowledge or consent. Neither Mark, Luke, nor John indicate that the tomb belonged to Joseph. From John xx. 15 we learn that Mary realized the unlawfulness of the burial of Jesus. She said to the supposed owner or manager of the garden: "Sir, if thou hast borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away." The glossator of the Matt. text made Joseph of Arimathæa the owner of the grave and, as it was apparently a quite expensive burial-place, a rich man.

The relative clause: "who also himself was Jesus's disciple,"

Am. R. V., or as a literal translation would read: "who also himself was made a disciple by Jesus," is not vouched for by the other Synoptists. It is moreover a clumsy statement and can mean only: "who also was a personal disciple of Jesus." That indicates a rather late origin, a time when personal disciples had disappeared from the scene or, at least, had become very rare.

The reason why such an addition was made to the text is not far to seek. The early readers must have asked what induced Joseph of Arimathæa to undertake the burial of Jesus. His intention was apparently of a friendly nature. That suggested the idea of his having been a friend and disciple. After having eliminated so much of verse 57, also the words "there came" in the beginning of the verse and "this man" at the head of verse 58 have to be omitted.

The second sentence in verse 58: "Then Pilate commanded it to be given up," Am. R. V., is likewise a later insertion. Its character is revealed by the temporal adverb "then" which takes the place of the usual coordinate conjunction "and," as well as by the absence of the direct object of the infinitive. The Greek text simply says: "Then Pilate commanded to be given up." Such incomplete constructions are characteristic of glosses. As marginal, or interlinear remarks, they are frequently abbreviated.

The next interpolation is the sentence: "And he rolled a great stone to the door of the tomb and departed." The Luke and John accounts do not contain that statement, and it is much easier to explain how that reference to the stone happened to come into the burial story than how it dropped out. The stone plays quite a part in all the resurrection narratives (Matt. xxviii. 2; xxvii. 66; Mark xvi. 3f; Luke xxiv. 2; John xx. 1). Any reader may have observed that nothing was said of that stone in the burial pericope and restored what he regarded as the original text.

The two words "and departed" have been treated as integral part of the stone incident. That assumption is based on the silence of all the parallel accounts as to the departure of Joseph. The words, however, mark clearly the end of the burial account. Hence when they were first added, the sentence: "But Mary Magdalene was there and the other Mary sitting over against the grave" cannot have been there. It must have been added afterward for the same reason as the reference to the stone. Mary Magdalene and the other Mary of verse 61 are identical with Mary Magdalene and the other Mary of xxviii. 1. They are in some way connected with Mary Magdalene and Mary, the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee of xxvii. 56. Possibly lack of space

compelled the person responsible for the two Marys to omit the words in apposition to the second Mary as well as the third woman.

The awkward construction of the sentence betrays likewise its character. Why should the two women have been sitting opposite the grave after Joseph had left? Neither Mark nor Luke speak of such a vigil, and John does not mention any women at the burial. Another indication of verse 62 being a gloss is the Greek word for "grave." It is the same word as that used in xxviii. 1ff, while in the burial account proper a different noun is found.

2. Mark xv. 42, the clause: "that is, the day before the Sabbath" cannot have belonged to the original text. For that was written by a native of Palestine for readers of Jewish descent, who, as a matter of course, knew that "preparation" was their name for Friday, cp. Luke xxiii. 54. Also the Matt. account must have contained this word "preparation", probably in the same place where it is found in Mark, immediately after "when it got too late." For the term appears in the other Gospels and it turns up Matt. xxvii. 62.

Verse 43 the words "there came", "a councilor of honorable estate", "and he boldly" as well as the relative clause "who also himself was looking for the kingdom of God" have to be rejected as spurious. The words in apposition to Joseph of Arimathæa occur neither in Matt. nor in John. They are intended to explain why Joseph could dare to go to Pilate and ask him for the body of Jesus. But they do not belong to the common source. In the first Gospel a commentator tried to formulate the motive which induced Joseph to bury Jesus. The even more important question how a friend of Jesus could obtain his body, however, is not touched upon. The Mark commentator answers it by making of Joseph a councilor who by virtue of his position might call upon Pilate at any time and ask him for special favors.

But the Greek equivalent of "councilor" is found in the entire New Testament only here in Mark and the parallel Luke passage. It denotes a "councilor," or "senator," that is, a member of a body of lawgivers, judges, and administrators, such as that which Kleisthenes instituted at Athens, or as the senate at Rome. But we have no knowledge of a similar body of men at Jerusalem whose members are ever called "senators." The Gospels speak indeed of a "Synedrion"; but the men sitting in it are "the chief priests and the elders of the people," "the chief priests and the scribes," or "the chief priests and the Pharisees." The word "councilor," therefore, points to a Gentile, not to a Palestinian, author.

The clause: "who also himself was looking for the kingdom of

God" is clearly an attempt of establishing a strong bond of affection between Joseph and Jesus. But it is unsatisfactory because the doctrine of the kingdom of God was not a specifically Christian dogma. Jesus shared it with all the pious Jews of his age, including his mortal enemies, the Pharisees. There is indeed a difference between the Christian and the Jewish conception of the kingdom of God; yet that difference does not appear in the formula employed in our passage. Here again we are bound to discover the hand of a Gentile Christian. For a Jewish contemporary of Jesus could not have thought of explaining the devoted friendship of Joseph simply by referring to the Christian belief in the kingdom of God.

The words "there came" and "boldly" stand and fall with the appositive and the verb, just discussed. The verb was inserted to render the augmented sentence less clumsy; and "boldly," which is not supported by any of the other Gospels, confirms what has been said about the real meaning and purpose of the phrase "a councilor of honorable estate."

The passage verse 44-45 is unobjectionable in itself. The information given, while not important, fits into the situation. But, as none of the other Gospels mentions it, it must be classed as a later addition to the text. It is an attempt to enlarge and embellish the rather short account of the burial.

"And he bought a linen cloth" (verse 46) stands likewise alone in Mark. A man who wanted to inter Jesus if Pilate would grant such a request, would have had everything ready. For the lateness of the hour would not have permitted him to make any preparations after seeing the governor. I am also inclined to think that every decent family in Palestine, at that time, was always supplied with linen suitable for a shroud. Here again a tendency to enlarge on the source without any deeper purpose is to be noticed in Mark. Dropping this statement of verse 46, we are compelled to change the definite article into the indefinite one before "linen cloth" in verse 46.

The two sentences: "And he rolled a stone against the door of the tomb. And Mary Magdalene and Mary the [mother] of Joses beheld where he was laid" have been disposed of in discussing the parallel passage of Matt. The conclusion arrived at there, is also in Mark confirmed by lexicological evidence. Verse 46 two different Greek words for "tomb" are found. The second of them is the same as that used in the resurrection narrative (xvi. 1ff) in a similar way to what we observed in Matt. The source of verse 47 is verse 40: "Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James

the less and of Joses, and Salome." But it was not taken directly from verse 40. For in that case it would be difficult to explain why Salome was not made a witness of the burial. The latter is named xvi. 1; and, therefore, this verse depends directly upon xv. 40.

The Greek words for "Mary the of James," xvi. 1, would mean in classical Greek: "Mary the daughter of James." But in our case the compiler evidently did not care to copy all the words from xv. 40; he was satisfied with only the first words that identify the second Mary there. The party who later on inserted verse 47 compared his gloss both with Matt. xxvii. 61 and Mark xv. 40 as well as xvi. 1. For he has only two women at the grave and calls the second "the of Joses," that is, the mother of the second son mentioned verse 40, so that xv. 47 and xvi. 1 together name the sons of the other Mary of xv. 40. The verbs of verse 47 have to be translated literally: "were beholding where he hath been laid." The author of the original story would hardly have written so.

3. Luke xxiii. 50f the whole passage: "who was a councilor, a good and righteous man—he had not consented to their counsel and deed—," as well as "a city of the Jews: who was looking for the kingdom of God" has to be discarded. The term "councilor" and the clause "who was looking for the kingdom of God" have been discussed in Mark. Also the appositive "a city of the Jews" needs no further explaining.

The entire first quoted passage betrays its character by the very position it is found in. It divides the name of Joseph of Arimathæa into two parts which in the nature of things form one indivisible whole. While it has to be rejected as an interpolation for that reason alone, it serves nevertheless a purpose of its own. The sepulture of Jesus involves, as we have seen, two distinct factors. It required, in the first place, a devoted friend of Jesus and, in the second place, a man who had influence with Pilate. Any author who knew what he was writing about would have brought out these two factors in their natural order. Assuming for a moment the statements now presented by our text to be an adequate expression of what he had in mind, he would have told us: "A good and righteous man, who had not consented to their counsel and deed, but who was looking for the kingdom of God, Joseph of Arimathæa, being a senator, went to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus."

The above statements, however, not only are found in the wrong place but also fail to express the ideas they are intended to convey. Not to mention again the term for "councilor," the words "a good and righteous man" cannot be considered as synonymous with "a

Christian." At the time of the crucifixion many good and righteous men must have lived in Palestine that were not disciples of Jesus. The sentence: "He had not consented to their counsel and deed" interrupts the grammatical construction of the whole passage. Moreover, the mere fact that he was not involved as a partner in the crime of the chief priests and scribes does not stamp him as an active sympathizer of Jesus. The words in question predicate nothing but a passive, neutral attitude on his part. It would be different if we were told: "He had opposed their counsel and deed." After eliminating these insertions, we have to cross out also "this man" at the beginning of verse 52. For the subject Joseph of Arimathæa will stand again in its proper place immediately before the verb.

The assertion "where never man had yet lain" (verse 53) is not confirmed by the other Synoptists. It reminds us of the adjective "new" in Matt., although there is a difference between a new tomb and an unused tomb as appears also from John. The thought which called forth this addition to the text is probably that the Christians very early imagined the supreme miracle of the resurrection to have demanded a tomb never used before and, therefore, not defiled by the corpse of a sinner.

Verses 55f stand in the same relation to xxiv. 1 and xxiii. 49 as the two parallel passages in the preceding Gospels. The women are not named in Luke because they are nameless in xxiii. 49.

Verse 54 belongs undoubtedly to the original text. Its second half: "and the Sabbath drew on" causes some trouble in the Greek text. I should prefer to translate the latter: "and the Sabbath star began to shine." The Greek verb means "begin to shine" and may be used in that sense not only of the rising sun but also of the stars. The Old Testament day begins in the evening. Even at present, orthodox Jews may be seen watching the sky Friday night after sunset. As soon as the first star becomes visible Sabbath commences and all work stops.

4. John xix. 38, the purpose clause: "that he might take away the body of Jesus," Am. R. V., has to be rendered: "that he might take down the body of Jesus." "Take down," of course, means here "take down from the cross." The same verb is used twice in verse 38 and once in verse 31. It must in all three instances have the same meaning. The taking down of the body precedes in our narrative (John xix. 38-42) the preparing of the corpse for the burial, and is followed by the act of depositing it in the tomb. The latter was near the place of crucifixion, as we are told twice. Thus there

was no room for taking away the body of Jesus any distance to speak of in a horizontal direction from the cross. Moreover, the New Testament dictionaries assign the meaning "take down from the cross" to our verb.

The words: "being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews" have to be canceled as a gloss. The statement is apparently based upon the corresponding information found in Matt. and serves the same purpose. John improves, however, upon his model by calling Joseph directly a disciple. The modifying words are to account for the fact that no Joseph of Arimathæa is known as a companion of Jesus or of his apostles. He was and remained a disciple "in secret" and emerges from his hiding-place only to pay the last honors to his master.

In verse 41 we come upon another indication of the dependence of John upon the Synoptists in their present condition. In the phrase: "a *new* tomb *wherein was never man yet laid*" the italicized words have been borrowed from the first and the third Gospels.

The sentences: "And Pilate gave leave. He came therefore and took down his body," which close verse 38, must be assigned to some commentator. Both are superfluous, and the first reminds us of Matt. xxvii. 58. For in John not only the direct but also the indirect object are missing.

The Nikodemos episode (verse 39) and the words belonging to it in verse 40 are spurious. The silence of the Synoptic Gospels as to the anointing of the body of Jesus at the time of the burial, is a decisive argument against the authenticity of what John tells about the part which Nikodemos played at that occasion. That is strengthened furthermore by Mark xvi. 1 and Luke xxiii. 56–xxiv. 1. According to these two passages the women intended to embalm the body of Jesus early the next Sunday. That would have been unnecessary if he had been embalmed Friday evening. Finally, Jesus himself was certain that he would not be anointed when his body should be committed to the ground. He said (Matt. xxvi. 12f) when Mary had anointed him: "That she hath poured this ointment on my body, she did it for my burial. Verily, I say unto you, Wherever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this that this woman hath done be told for a memorial of her." Jesus without doubt foresaw the circumstances and conditions that were to surround his death.

There are still other indications of the spuriousness of the Nikodemos episode. The man is introduced by the words: "And

there came also." If he assisted Joseph in burying Jesus, there must have been a previous understanding between the two men. In that case they would have gone together to Pilate. For Nikodemos was a man of some consequence; "a ruler of the Jews" (John iii. 1), whatever that may be. The quantity of myrrh and aloe he is reported to have brought along is incredibly great. The prepositional phrase "with the spices" (verse 40) does not agree with the verb "bound." For the body could hardly be bound with strips of linen (dat. of means and instrument) together with the spices. If spices were used, the body was first anointed with them and then wrapped up in linen cloth or strips. The clause: "as the custom of the Jews is to bury" is clearly of Gentile origin.

It is easy enough to understand why Nikodemos could become connected with the interment of Jesus. After Joseph of Arimathæa had become a disciple, the name of Nikodemos, the only other secret disciple the fourth Gospel mentions, suggested itself to any attentive reader of our pericope.

The last words to be eliminated are "a garden and in the garden" (verse 41), and "the Jews (verse 42). None of the other Gospels refers to that garden. It probably has been inserted on account of "the gardener" of John xx. 15. The clause: "for the tomb was nigh at hand" (verse 43) is also probably a gloss. It is superfluous in view of what we read about the location of the tomb in verse 41 and, besides, it does not fit very well into its present context.

The foregoing investigation has restored the oldest text of the four Joseph of Arimathæa pericopes as far as that is possible without possessing the very manuscripts from which our four accounts were originally copied. They have now to be compared in order to establish their mutual relationship. The four parallel passages point to one common source. They relate the burial of Jesus in almost identical terms and in the same order. The principal actor is Joseph of Arimathæa. He asked Pilate for the body of Jesus, took it down from the cross, wrapped it in linen, and laid it in a grave.

The narratives of the Synoptic Gospels, however, are much more closely related than any of them is to that of the fourth Gospel. That does not imply that the Synoptic and the Johannine versions go back to two different eye-witnesses. The variations in grammatical construction and vocabulary may point only to different translations from the same Semitic text or from different revisions of that text. For instance, the verb "take down" has its counterpart

in a synonymous verb used in Mark and Luke. There is no difference in meaning between the Synoptic wrapping up in linen cloth and the Johannine binding in linen cloths. But it ought to be admitted that the translator who furnished the Johannine pericope aimed less at a literal translation than at expressing the gist of the matter in his own way.

The three Synoptic texts show, in spite of their obvious dependence upon a common source, that the latter had undergone already different revisions. We are forced to distinguish two principal revisions and one mixed text. Matt. agrees with Mark in four instances, all of which are characteristic. The time of the burial is announced in both right at the opening of the narrative. In Luke and John, on the other hand, it is mentioned at the end. Besides, the three expressions "when it got late," "hewn out," and "rock" occur only in the first two Gospels. Matt. coincides with Luke in three cases. These are "man," rendered however by two different Greek words, "by name," Matt. genitive, Luke dative, and the phrase "went to Pilate." The slight differences suggest, however, that Matt. does not depend upon the Luke text directly. Mark and Luke have only two readings in common, namely the verb "take down" and the Greek term for "tomb."

The main feature of the Joseph of Arimathæa account is that Jesus, in spite of his disgraceful death, received an honorable burial. That same fact, however, presents also the principal difficulty. For the question has to be answered: How could Pontius Pilate allow such a burial to be given to a man who had been crucified because he had been charged with the crime of claiming to be the king of the Jews? The Gospels indeed represent the governor as having sent Jesus to the cross although he was convinced of his innocence. But one should think that just in that case Pilate should have treated him with the greatest severity the law prescribed, pretending to see in him a most dangerous man.

The Roman law provided that crucified people should not be interred, but should remain on the cross until the natural process of decomposition, aided by the birds of heaven and the beasts of the field, had destroyed the corpse. The idea was to strike terror into the hearts of all who beheld such crosses with their gruesome burden. It was not only the realization of the fearful death which should warn them not to commit crimes punishable by crucifixion, but also the knowledge that their souls could find no rest after death. For the ancients believed in the necessity of a properly performed burial. Deprived of that, the soul could not enter into Hades but

had to lead the cursed existence of a ghost. Our interment narrative furnishes no hint why Pilate granted the request of Joseph of Arimathæa. Even the earliest commentators could not explain the attitude of Pilate, although, as the examples of Mark and Luke demonstrate, they were aware of the problem.

Turning now to John xix. 31-34, we find there another account of what happened to Jesus after his death. We are informed that "the Jews" asked Pilate to have the legs of the crucified men broken and their bodies taken off the cross. Those men are not friends of Jesus. The term "Jews" is met with but rarely in the Synoptic Gospels but is used quite often in John. There it is in many cases a synonym of "the enemies of Jesus," so, to mention only a few instances, John xviii. 12, 14, 31, 36; xix. 7 (cp. 6), 12, 14 (cp. 15). "The Jews asked of Pilate" is, therefore, only another way of saying: "The chief priests asked of Pilate." The reason why they asked for the removal of the bodies, which implied, as a matter of course, some kind of a burial, is given in the statement: "that the bodies should not remain on the cross upon the Sabbath (for the day of that Sabbath was a high day)," Am. R. V. The Sabbath here referred to was the day after the death of Jesus. It belonged to the seven days of the feast of the Passover, Ex. xii. 15ff. But apart from that, no special importance belonged to that Sabbath. The Am. R. V. puts presumably for that reason the words: "for the day of that Sabbath was a high day" in parentheses, thereby indicating doubt as to their authenticity. But as we drop that clause from the text, we must likewise reject the preceding clause: "that the bodies should not remain on the cross upon the Sabbath." For there is no law which forbade the Jews to keep crucified criminals on the cross upon a Sabbath day. It seems as if the last quoted clause was inserted into the text by a person who did not understand why the Jews, the enemies of Jesus, should have asked the governor to have the bodies taken off the cross. Being ignorant of the true reason, he thought of the Sabbath. Another glossator who was not satisfied with that explanation claimed a special sanctity for the Sabbath of the Passover week.

While there exists no law applying to crucifixion and the Sabbath, the Old Testament contains a very plain and explicit commandment which regulates that old Semitic mode of capital punishment for any day of the week. Deut. xxi. 22f we read: "And if a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree; his body shall not remain all

night upon the tree, but thou shalt surely bury him the same day; for he that is hanged is accursed of God; that thou defile not thy land which Yahveh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance." Josh. viii. 29 and x. 26f two instances of crucifixion are related where the victims were treated in accordance with the just quoted commandment. In the first passage we are told: "And the king of Ai he hanged on a tree until eventide: and at the going down of the sun Joshua commanded, and they took his body down from the tree, and cast it at the entrance of the gate of the city, and raised thereon a great heap of stones." From the second passage we learn: "And afterwards Joshua smote them (the five kings), and he put them to death, and hanged them on five trees: and they were hanging upon the trees until the evening. And it came to pass at the time of the going down of the sun, that Joshua commanded and they took them down of the trees, and cast them into the cave wherein they had hidden themselves, and laid great stones on the mouth of the cave." If the enemies of Jesus went to Pilate to have the body of Jesus removed from the cross Friday evening, their only motive to do so must have been the just quoted Old Testament law; and the kind of burial they intended to give to Jesus may have been something like the interment of the king of Ai and of the five kings in the cave of Makkedah. That is to say, the body of Jesus was to be thrown into some ditch and covered with stones and loose earth or into some cave or vault that served as a charnel-house.

The proposed treatment of the crucified men, before they were committed to the ground, consisted in breaking their legs. That was to make sure of their death even if they should be taken down before they had breathed their last. That suggests rather a vault or a cave as a burial-place. For burying them in a grave and covering them with earth would also have assured their speedy death by suffocation. Still we cannot put any stress upon that circumstance. For breaking the legs may have been the regular way of treating crucified men before they were taken down by the Jews.

According to verses 33f, the bones of Jesus were not crushed like those of his two companions. The soldiers found Jesus dead and saved themselves the unpleasant task of beating his legs to pulp with mallets. Instead of that, they thrust a spear into his side and probably pierced his heart.

No mention is made of the final disposal of the three corpses. That does not imply, however, that they were not buried. Nobody would deny that of the companions of Jesus. But what has to be

taken for granted in their case, applies with equal force to Jesus Neither are we forced to claim a lacuna between verses 34 and 35. For it is very improbable that the original narrator should have written a detailed account of the burial of the three bodies. In the first place, it would have been a revolting thing to do; in the second place, all his readers without exception knew well enough how bodies of executed criminals were disposed of if they happened to receive a burial.

We are now enabled to form a judgment as to the words "after these things" which introduce the Joseph of Arimathæa pericope verse 38. They place the Joseph episode after the burial of Jesus by the Roman soldiers. But Pilate could not have granted to Joseph of Arimathæa the privilege of burying Jesus after having ordered his soldiers to inter the three crucified men in accordance with the request of the chief priests. The two passages John xix. 31-34 and 38-42 are therefore parallel accounts of one and the same event.

Verse 35 at present forms the conclusion of the burial scene. It is, however, possible that it closes the entire Johannine account of the suffering and death of Jesus. Of course, verses 36f attempt to confine verse 35 to what we read in verse 34.

It is now to be determined whether the first Johannine burial account deserves any historical credit. The Joseph of Arimathæa pericope failed to give a satisfactory answer to the question why Pilate permitted Jesus to be buried. Whether Pilate thought in his heart Jesus innocent of the charges raised against him or not, he knew the Jews were most unwilling subjects of the emperor and ready to revolt at any time. For that very reason, the small country had been placed under a governor of its own, who had at his disposal an exceptionally large military force. Jesus on the cross would serve, therefore, whether he was guilty or not, as a warning example for all who harbored disloyal thoughts. No friend of Jesus would, under such circumstances, have dared to ask for the body of his master. For in doing so, he would have incurred the suspicion and resentment of Pilate. The commentator who added the word "boldly" (Mark xv. 43) was aware of that fact.

But why did Pilate grant the request of the enemies of Jesus? A satisfactory answer to that question is not far to seek. In the first place, the chief priests did not intend to give Jesus an honorable burial. We have learned that the Jews considered their land defiled if a corpse was left over night on the cross. Pilate, indeed, was not guided by the laws and scruples of the Jews but by the ordinances

of the Roman law and the commands of his emperor. In peaceful times he would respect as far as possible the religious prejudices of his subjects. But whenever the interests of Rome clashed with what he regarded as Jewish superstitions he would offend the Jews relentlessly just to convince them of their helplessness. Thus he would as a rule insist on keeping the corpses of crucified persons on the cross as long as anything was left of them. The Jews had to submit to that transgression of their divine law and to console themselves with the thought that their country was not defiled by an act of their own nor with their will and consent.

The case of Jesus was quite an exception. The chief priests of the Jews themselves had denounced the man from Galilee and delivered him into the hands of the governor. The latter could not doubt the loyalty of the priests; and, therefore, he would be inclined to grant them a favor provided such a favor would not run counter to the Roman interests. The chief priests had caused Jesus to be crucified by direct and overt acts of their own. They had done so with the help of Jewish assistants. When Jesus was nailed to the cross, everybody at Jerusalem, that is to say, the whole Jewish nation, knew that he had become a victim of the wrath of the priests. If, under these conditions, the body of Jesus would have been kept on the cross over night, the priests would have been charged by the people with having defiled the land. The result might have been serious disturbances of the peace and a revolt of the nation against the chief priests. Pilate must have understood the force of that argument and must have agreed to help his friends to hold their position, especially since his own interests were identical with theirs.

The first burial account in John, although it is without parallel in the first three Gospels, bears all the marks of historical truth. The Joseph of Arimathæa story, even in its oldest revision, does not tell us what actually happened. In spite of its fourfold repetition, we should have to doubt its authenticity even if we did not possess John xix. 32-34. The numerous glosses and other additions which have crept into the text alone are sufficient to prove to what a degree the early students of the Gospels were troubled by the problematical nature of their text.

The first Johannine report enables us to throw some light on the Joseph of Arimathæa episode. That man is either a purely fictitious character or he must have been the representative of the chief priests who went to Pilate to arrange for a burial of Jesus such as Jews and Gentiles might grant to the body of a criminal. He acted, of course, strictly in the interest of his employers who

were most anxious to appear, especially in the case of Jesus, as the faithful guardians of the Law of Moses. Joseph was sent very likely because he was the regular go-between and had also denounced Jesus and arranged for his arrest in the name of the priests. For it is certain that in both cases the priests did not go in a body to Pilate. At the burial Joseph was present as the official witness but took, very naturally, no active part in it. While scholars have been unable to locate Arimathæa in Palestine, it may be possible to find the place somewhere else in the Roman Empire. It may be the name of Rome itself. For Joseph was undoubtedly able to converse with Pilate in Latin. He, therefore, must have been born and raised in the Jewish diaspora, and that in the city of Rome, and his name was Joseph of Rome.

YANG MING.[1]

BY HARDIN T. MCCELLAND.

THE principal feature of the Yang Ming philosophy is supplied in the meaning of its name, which may be translated "positive enlightenment," and as it thus implies a growth of the rational and noetic intelligence, its natural function is to compose the fiery passions and support the soul of man on its hazardous journey through the material world. The Japanese General Nogi was a student of the Yang Ming philosophy, having attended the Grotto for several years, whence he came by that supreme poise of soul which made him worthy of the rank of general; and which showed the world why it was that no amount of Russian opposition or cruelty to prisoners could deter his set decision to advance to the capture of Port Arthur which was the pivot of the whole Russo-Japanese war. But on the later decease of his Mikado he found greater honor in *hara-kiri* than in lonely survival—better to die "the positive death" than to become a negative factor in post-mortem devotion.

A tranquil life is built, first, in the freedom from fear of externals; second, the construction arises well apart from any doubt of the capacity of one's internal powers, either of their presence or influence. A third element so often overlooked, is the clear discernment that although all existences are potentially the same, yet some are merely extentional while others are intentional. The powers of

[1] The Yang Ming philosophy has now become the composite production of the school of the Yang Ming Grotto, founded in Japan in the first quarter of the sixteenth century by the famous Chinese idealist Wang Yang Ming (1472-1528); cf. *Monist*, Jan., 1914.

man, then, are sluggish and latent on the one hand, and volatile and patent on the other. By similar analysis we might say that there are but two dimensions in the universe—extention and intention—which work *outwardly* as matter, and *inwardly* as spirit; out as meaning and in as the interpretation of life. The last of each of these antitheses holds constant to its purpose, while the first of each pleasures in a variable chaos which does not seem to have any intelligible law other than the material. And yet we do the best we can under the circumstances and blandly acknowledge that the beauty of the one is complementary to the goodness of the other, and that both happily conjoin to aid in the alethial culture of the cosmos. Our only assertion seems to be the negative platitude that a mere chance-ruled concourse of atoms would make a poor, inanely dull habitation, a cheerless mode of non-instructive clay where lacks our chiefest redivivus Thought and all its accessory virtues.

That materialist, the Hindu Makkhali, gained no real philosophic advantage when he argued that all religion, art, politics, and science were but the shrewd invention of man to more easily govern his brothers. If this idea should ever prevail men would then be exiled from their native state, to be forced to lay in a store of interpretation and wisdom from an impossible external source. A spring of hope bubbles in the more vital exertions of the mind against this radical externalism, and we are consoled with the notional balm of our soul's analogy to its parent organism, God. All of us, at some time or other in our mental career, become uneasy and make a few slashes at established truth, hoping to set up, instead, our own (perhaps personally true) convictions for the rest of the world to admire and practise. And how many do we find brooding over the forlorn hope of some day proselyting the whole universe so as to traduce the sparkling fountain of others' joy! But their sad fate soon shows a derelict mind, a psychic vagabond whose only aim in life is to affirm negation and establish the doctrine of ultimate annihilation. The Yang Ming philosophy shows that we should rather disavow such proclamations by seeing the shortcomings of the materialist's psychopathic afflictions; and, better, that we should hold it a far more truly philosophical principle to *try to vindicate our search,* even though it appears to be so often a merely improvised adventure.

Poise of soul is the ultimate requisite of life. It is the foundation of every moral establishment, and brings all builders to a trust in the basic responsibility of men. With what attitude would or should we bear the absence of a friend, a relative, lover,

or any other heretofore "helpful to our cursory existence," so that the soul might preserve the calm courage of its sublime nature? That of suffering an irreparable loss or deprivation? Of thanking Atropos for a ridding service? Or, third, that of knowing it is but the absence of that which is *not* of the true nature of the person or thing departed? Both consuming love and superficial attachment would have the first; hate and selfish ambition wassail the second; while for the third, is there any means other than a love of wisdom and spiritual composure which will incline and persuade a man to claim the tranquillity of its perception? Birth or entrance, death or departure, require no more of joy or sorrow than any other of nature's incidents. The peaceful mind is not muddled with a rushing of blood as in a passion, nor does it weaken with the anemic pale of fear or other scar of ignorance. In his moral pursuits, the man of equanimity never seeks the indulgence of attaching too great an egotistic importance to each valence of his love, for he very well knows a latent vanity lurks therein, and that every foible is merely a frenzy of our selfish grasp. No, the philosophic mind will seek to enjoy nothing but calm detachment, maintaining its superposed divinity by exercising its majestic, though perfectly natural faculty of living in, going through, and finally passing beyond the universe. The very nowness of the Yang Ming instruction lends argument to its principle of "positive non-assertion," which reclaims our cursive contemplations and redeems our erstwhile pride of intelligence.

Does a man consider the highest goal of human endeavor to be the desire for a prolonged propinquity between himself and surrounding things? Misers are not disposed otherwise. The fact rather is this: To *be* is not to monopolize all the urgencies of the universe, not the materialist's defamation of divinity from a misoptic covetousness of it. But much more truly natural does it obtain when there is the cloyless alimentation of an aspiring exertion to not only *be*, but to *become*, if only to become better or more intelligent.

Pray, then, observe closer and see if the man is free from the pathos of pride, the ignobility of ignorance, or the distress of dissembling. For, if he attends strictly to the beauty of being (whose better part is its constant and melioristic becoming), where may the legions of seeming sit that they may be his council?

This is the argument of the Yang Ming philosophy. This is a brief statement of its positive principle that the soul of strength is composure, that the soul of composure is spiritual enlightenment.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE LIVING PAST: A SKETCH OF WESTERN PROGRESS. By *F. S. Marvin.* (Third edition.) Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. xvi, 296.

This is a short and exceedingly well-written sketch of general history from the earliest time down to quite modern times. "The clue which this little book follows is no new discovery. It first came clearly into view with Kant and the philosophers of the eighteenth century. Take Kant's theory of universal history as the growth of a world-community, reconciling the freedom of individuals and of individual states with the accomplishment of a common aim for mankind as a whole. Add to this the rising power of science as a collective and binding force which the century since Kant has made supreme. You have then one strong clear clue which, with the necessary qualifications, seems to offer in the field of history something of the guidance and system which Newtonian gravitation gave to celestial mechanics in the seventeenth century. The growth of a common humanity: this is the primary object to keep in view. But it will prove vague and inconclusive, unless we add to it a content in the growth of organized knowledge, applied to social ends" (p. iv). We have here a slight indication that the purpose and method of general history is greatly indebted to the work of Comte. We know that one of the greatest workers at general history in modern times, Paul Tannery, was a follower of Comte; and this book owes much to the inspiration of Comte's philosophy, although this fact is certainly not forced into the foreground.

"It is essential, before we speak of any definite results, to realize what is implied by this term 'philosopher' when used of Thales and the early thinkers of Greece. In later ages and often in our own day the word 'philosophy' is carefully defined to exclude precisely those parts of the thinking of the early Greeks which proved to be of most permanent value; and this definition, when carried back into the period when 'philosophy' was understood in a larger sense, has led to the presentation of a singularly mutilated picture of early Greek thought in most of the so-called 'histories of philosophy.' The crude speculations about the origin and nature of things in general, interesting as they are as evidence of the new spirit of free inquiry, and not without occasional flashes of brilliant insight, were necessarily premature and bound to be superseded by fuller knowledge. These are presented to us as the main results of the thinking of Thales or Pythagoras, while their solid achievements in the history of thought are passed over as belonging to another appartment called 'science.' The early thinker knew no such distinction, and we are bound also to treat his work as a whole—'science' and 'philosophy'—and to consider it as an integral part of the development which was going on simultaneously in all parts of the Greek domain, commerce, art, philosophy, and politics" (p. 57).

An even more obvious defect of the vicious system of dividing knowledge into water-tight compartments is illustrated by the popular view, which has been imposed on us by generations of our teachers, that "history" is simply "political history." "What popular history of Greece gives any account of the work of Archimedes, or even mentions Hipparchus? Some of the most

approved histories of England allude to Newton only as 'master of the mint.' It is high time, especially in England, for a determined effort to see and to present the facts more nearly in their true proportions and, above all, as a whole" (p. 5). Again: "It is a curious commentary on the popular view of history, that, while any schoolboy could tell you that the two years Newton refers to [1665 and 1666] were the dates of the Plague and the Fire, purely local accidents, not one person in ten thousand, children or adults, would connect them with two of the most profound and far-reaching events in the history of the world, the invention of the infinitesimal calculus and of the law of gravitation" (p. 179). Further, referring to the fact that Hegel, Beethoven, Wordsworth, and Turner were born at about the same time and are "all of the first importance in forming the modern spirit from that mass of eager, expectant life which filled the latter part of the eighteenth century," Mr. Marvin remarks that "the genius of each was proudly, even fiercely independent, and yet each combines with the others in that mysterious unity of texture of which we are aware in subsequent thought and feeling, and cannot understand without all its diverse elements" (p. 223).

"History," says Mr. Marvin on page 5, "is the account of man's achievements, and in particular of the achievements of the Western leading branch of the human family which now dominates the globe." On page 31 we read: "Many causes, largely geographical, combined to make the Mediterranean countries the scene of the most rapid advance in civilization. With our eye therefore on the sequel, we concentrate our attention at this stage mainly on the two great river-valley civilizations, in Egypt and Mesopotamia, which were nearest to the Eastern Mediterranean. From these, together with the kindred culture of the Ægean, centering in Crete, the 'classical' world arose. In thus limiting our view we are in no sense belittling the achievements of other races in other regions. In many points, more perhaps than we are yet aware of, the Further East contributed to Mediterranean culture: in some ways we have still to learn and to assimilate its spirit. But the Mediterranean current has conquered and pervades the world, and those who will follow its progress must keep their eyes fixed on the main stream, and treat all others either by way of supplement or of comparison" (cf. also pp. 266-267).

The chapters in this book are: The Childhood of the Race; The Early Empires; The Greeks; The Romans; The Middle Ages; The Renascence and the New World; The Rise of Modern Science; The Industrial Revolution; The Revolution, Social and Political; Progress After Revolution; and "Looking Forward." A very welcome feature of this edition is that there are illustrative time-charts, showing side by side the chief events in the world of action and the world of thought. Perhaps the most interesting part will be found to be the passages on the Egyptians and Babylonians (pp. 33, 40-42); on the Greeks (pp. 55, 57, 58-60, 65); on the Renascence (pp. 141, 144-145); on the passion for inquiry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (pp. 169-172); on the rise and progress of astronomy (pp. 173-180); and on Descartes and his mathematical successors (pp. 180-189). ϕ

As we are going to press the sad news reaches us of the death of Mr. Philip E. B. Jourdain, our associate editor in London. Mr. Jourdain died at his home in Hampshire, England, October 2.

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The special purpose of the present volume is to give examples of the service which the general, as opposed to the highly specialized, scientist may perform in the criticism of old theories and the discovery of new laws. The author rightly holds that psychology, for instance, cannot properly be understood without reference to physics, and that sociology in turn depends upon pschology. It is such bridges as these that he is particularly concerned to supply. One becomes skeptical only when he undertakes to supply so many of them in his own person. The case for the synthetic mind, which compares and analyzes the results obtained by the direct experiment of the specialist, is a good one. Perhaps the modern scientific world has too violently repudiated Bacon's magnificent, if impossible, declaration : "I have taken all knowledge to be my province." The counter-appeal for scientific breadth of view is not misplaced. Nevertheless, when a single volume propounds a reconciliation of the war between vitalism and mechanism in biology; a theory of the affective elements in psychology; a new definition of consciousness; an evaluation of the role of religion in civilization; and a discussion of the economic explanation of history—more cautious minds cannot help suspecting a tendency toward brilliant guesswork on the part of so versatile an expert.

A certain unity is given to the major portion of the book by the development of a stimulation, though by no means entirely novel, theory of memory as the central phenomenon in both purely biological and higher psychic processes. Even the assimilation performed by a unicellular organism is essentially memory, involving the power to experience anew, and yet to remain the same; to repeat, with novelty in the repetition. Moving upward in the scale, pleasant and unpleasant experiences are intimately concerned with the formation of habits, themselves intimately concerned with memory—it is a well-known theory in psychology that the familiar is always pleasant. Advancing to yet more complex processes, the author finds that one of the chief functions of religious ceremony was to fix important social regulations, customs, dates, even boundaries of land, in memory by surrounding them with special rites. On the whole, though perhaps dangerously facile for the superfluous mind, which may be encouraged to draw large conclusions from insufficient evidence, this volume is stimulating to thought in a wide variety of directions."

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